

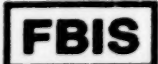
JPRS 84668

2 November 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2225



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

2 November 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2225

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Slovenian Comment on Renewed Albanian Ties With PRC, Italy  
(Tit Dobersek; DELO, 7 Oct 83) ..... 1

## ALBANIA

- AWP Politburo Calls on Hoxha on Birthday  
(ATA, 17 Oct 83) ..... 3
- Leaders Attend Koman Power Plant Meeting  
(ATA, 17 Oct 83) ..... 7
- Carcani Speaks at Power Plant  
(ATA, 17 Oct 83) ..... 9

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Increase Noted in Women Joining Armed Forces  
(Michael Mara; DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 18 Sep 83) ..... 14
- New Decontamination Equipment Described  
(P. Lassahn; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5, 1983) ..... 17

## HUNGARY

- Bush Visit, Talks With Kadar Outlined  
(NEPSZAVA, 20 Sep 83) ..... 24
- Sociologist Elemer Hankis Interviewed in Yugoslav Publication  
(Elemer Hankis Interview; INTERVJU, 2 Sep 83) ..... 27

## POLAND

- Party Official Discusses Reports Campaign  
(Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak Interview; Warsaw Domestic  
Television Service, 16 Oct 83) ..... 32

Official Discusses Party Influence on Youth (Piotr Rządca Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 15/16 Oct 83) ...	35
PZPR Official Comments on Lack of Ideology (Krystyna Kostrzewa Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 13 Oct 83) .....	38
Army Officer Discusses Military Education, Ideology (Lesław Wojtasik Interview; RZECZYWISTOSC, 9 Oct 83) ...	40
Official Assesses Voivodship Control Results (Edward Drzazga Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 14 Oct 83) ..	42
Provincial Worker Self-Government Activities Reported (Various sources, 2, 4, 5 Aug 83) .....	44
Factor in Economic Reform, by Henrik Kaczmarczyk Questions, Answers About Self-Government, by Zenon Mlynczyk First Steps of Self-Government	
Provincial Trade Union Development Reported (Various sources, 13, 14 Sep 83) .....	48
New Stage of Development in Trade Unions, by Ryszard Biskup Ostrowiec Secretary Meets Activists New Trade Union Developments at Pulawy, by Iwona Przeor-Pastuszek	
Provincial Independent Self-Governing Actions Noted (SZTANDAR LUDU, 13, 16 Sep 83) .....	55
Development of Independent Units Mentioned, by K. Kasparzak Workers' Self-Government Organizations Make Progress, by Krzysztof Sobczak	

#### YUGOSLAVIA

Survey Examines Citizens' Political Involvement (Steven Niksic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1704, 28 Aug 83) .....	60
Grlickov Advocates Idea of 'Open Marxism' (Aleksandar Grlickov; TANJUG Domestic Service, 24 Oct 83)	66



SLOVENIAN COMMENT ON RENEWED ALBANIAN TIES WITH PRC, ITALY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Tit Dobersek: "Albania Is Rescuing Her Economy by Revitalizing Old Ties"]

[Text] Five years after the break, a trade agreement is signed by Beijing and Tirana.

Meeting between the Italian and Albanian foreign ministers in New York

Although Albania has been driven to the limit in the political sphere of self-willed isolation--among other things the country has not participated in the Helsinki Conference on European security and it shuns any kind of regional cooperation--in the economic sphere it has recognized that further isolation would be, in essence, a slow but certain suicide. Thus, in that area, it has recently been observed that Albania is discovering her former roots--both newer and older ones--in the desire to revitalize its languishing economic organism.

Two recent events confirm these analyses. The first is the signing of two Albanian-Chinese documents on trade and financial cooperation a few days ago in Beijing. The second is the recent unexpected meeting, at Tirana's initiative, between the Albanian and the Italian foreign ministers at the UN headquarters in New York. In both cases there was talk about a revival of cooperation which was more developed in the past but which causes of a political nature have interrupted fatally.

The renewed opening to China, 5 years after the breaking off of all relations, took place secretly in April when an economic delegation from Beijing visited Tirana. Obviously, the mutual advantages which both countries would reap from the resumption of relations were the predominant factor. Now the Chinese minister [as published] of foreign economic relations and trade Chen Jie and the Albanian deputy minister of foreign trade Pajtim Ajazi have signed an agreement in Beijing in regard to a trade and finance protocol on the basis of which the exchange of goods between the two countries this year is expected to amount to 5-7 million dollars in both directions and next year, the trade will be tripled, amounting to 15-20 million dollars.

By the end of the year, the Chinese will have received 80,000 tons of Albanian chrome, the first 10,000 tons of which have already been transported by Albanian ships. At the same time, the Albanians have already received the first 2,000 tons of Chinese cotton and just as much rice. In addition to chrome, the Chinese would receive ferro-chrome and copper and, in addition to cotton, the Albanians would receive spare parts for machinery and chemical products.

In the period from 1954 to 1978, the Chinese assisted in the construction of 142 projects in Albania and supplied 10,000 tractors and an unknown number of tanks, helicopters and other military equipment, and some 6,000 Chinese experts were working in the country. In essence, the Chinese kept the Albanian economy in existence and this fact was expressed during the past 5 years, after the break. The agreement about the new shipments of spare parts for industry and of some key raw materials, like cotton for the textile enterprise, is proof of the fact that Albania is fed up with economic constraints.

It seems that the recent conversation between the Italian and Albanian foreign ministers in New York is more important for including Albania in contemporary world currents, from the economic standpoint. Of course, Andreotti did not say what Reis Malile wanted to tell him when he requested the meeting but it seems that the Albanians showed a "strong desire" to establish relations. Here, across the straits of Otranto, Tirana obviously sees a bridge which would connect it with the world and, since the foundation of this bridge lies in the past, it can be easily built.

At the present time, Italy, despite the modest amount of trade--60 million dollars worth--is the chief trading partner of Albania. Obviously, Albania would like this cooperation to increase and, above all, to be enriched so that she will not lag behind the contemporary economic currents in the world.

In regard to the policy of rapprochement which this renewed economic cooperation would bring about, it is too early to say anything now, but Enver Hoxha, in his recent statements has demonstrated that he is still far removed from the policy of pragmatism according to the model of Deng, who, on the one hand, is carrying on a dialog with Moscow and, on the other hand, is negotiating for a Reagan visit to Beijing. Certainly China no longer has the same aims which she had for Albania in the years after the break with the USSR, when it helped to keep in existence a fossil system of the most rigid Stalinism.

CSO: 2800/55

AWP POLITBURO CALLS ON HOXHA ON BIRTHDAY

AU170829 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 17 Oct 83

["The Political Bureau Greets Comrade Enver Hoxha on Occasion of the 75th Anniversary of His Birthday and Hands Over to Him the Greeting of the Central Committee of the Party"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Oct (ATA)--The comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihalj and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the party Vangjel Cerrava went for a visit to Comrade Enver Hoxha's house yesterday before noon, to greet him on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of his birth and to hand over to him the greeting of the Central Committee of the party.

At the beginning Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha welcome the comrades of the Political Bureau at the stairs of the house where they have lived and worked for 30 years in succession.

After they wished Comrade Enver Hoxha his birthday, a very warm and comradely talk begins.

You, older comrades of the bureau recall, Comrade Enver Hoxha said that the people and party have encountered many difficulties but they have fought, have overcome them and come out victorious. Our party has withstood many pressures and blackmails, but it smashed them, it preserved alive its ideals it won because the people were on its side, that great force which frightened the enemies and won over them.

They could not realise their aims because the party was based on Marxism-Leninism, because it had the support of the people, the people stood by the party in those difficult times.

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha invited the comrades to the new house. The comrades of the Political Bureau shake hands and embrace again Comrade Enver Hoxha wishing him sound health and long life to the benefit of the party, the homeland, socialism in our country.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia takes the floor. Dear Comrade Enver, he said. The comrades honoured me by charging me to hand over to you the message that the Central Committee of the party addresses to you on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of your birthday. The 75th anniversary of your birthday, he continued, is a great celebration for all the communists, for all our people. The boundless love and respect that old and young nurture for you, has to do with that historic and decisive role that you Comrade Enver have played and play as the founder of our glorious party, as the leader of the party and the people in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland and the construction of socialism, for the defence of the country's freedom and independence. Handing over the greeting of the Central Committee, like the entire people and communists, we too, the members of the Political Bureau, your comrades of war and work, wish you wholeheartedly to live as long as our mountains Comrade Enver, to the benefit of the people and the party, socialism and the revolution, we wish you to live long and lead us for many many years towards fresh victories which our people will achieve under the leadership of the party with you at the head Comrade Enver, Comrade Ramiz Alia says in conclusion and after handing over to him the greeting of the Central Committee of the party, embraces the beloved leader of the party and people.

Taking the greeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha wholeheartedly thanks party and its Central Committee for their wishes.

My dear comrades, said Comrade Enver Hoxha, among others. Although I became 75 years old, I still feel myself young, because I am a communist and there is no old age for the communists.

The party and people are honouring me very much, and this impresses me and arouses emotions. The party and people, the homeland and socialism are everything for me, the life, joy and faith in their brilliant future.

There is no loftiest mission for a man than to live, work and fight with the people and for the people. I have proceeded from this view and confidence during all my life, that is why I am a communist.

Marxism-Leninism is the projector that illuminates the minds and consciousness of the people and the road of the peoples for liberation and revolution.

The glorious Marxist-Leninist theory has led and leads our heroic party in all the battles of war and work and has guaranteed all these victories that our people enjoy today.

Our socialist Albania marches always forward courageously, it expresses her opinion as she thinks, she fears nobody, she loves the peoples, the peace and fights against its imperialist, social-imperialist enemies and the reactionary and aggressive forces of all currents.

In the storms mankind is experiencing, our small but brave, noble, modest, wise, industrious and honest people stand unwavering, unflinching, just



like our mountains. All these virtues have protected and kept alive our people. Rightfully, they feel proud. We too are right to feel proud of this people.

The ideology of the party has been closely linked with all the glorious virtues of our people.

The party-people unity remains decisive for all times, it is the source of strength, of the creative thought, of the revolutionary victories. Our enemies of all hues are smashed by this strength. The unity in the ranks of the party, in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the unity in the leadership are the other factor as decisive as the party people unity.

The history of our party and the history of the former communist parties has proved and proves that in order to weaken and hinder the great cause of the working class, the world proletariat, the class enemy tries always to hit Marxism-Leninism and that leadership that defends and stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

Our external and internal enemies have many a times attempted and will attempt in the future too to realise this against us, but they have met with failure and will continue to fail as every step we take in our life and struggle will be fruit of a wise and cool-headed reflection, which accords with the desires and aspirations of the people as well as with the ideology of our party, Marxism-Leninism.

Marching resolutely on the road of the party, the Albanian people will always be free, independent and sovereign in their flourished and prosperous homeland.

My dear friends and comrades-in-arms, Comrade Enver said further on. I thank from the bottom of my heart the party and people for the honour that they are making to me, I am eternally grateful to them and assure you that as long as I will live, I will not forget, even for a moment, the tasks I have to accomplish towards them.

I, dear comrades, have made nothing more than you and the heroic friends that laid their lives for the liberation of the homeland and the construction of socialism.

The people and together with them, we, communists have set to work and will continue to do so untiringly and permanently, sparing nothing, fighting courageously, bravely, with the knowledge and wisdom the party has given and gives to us, for the glory of the party and people.

On this occasion, allow me to thank you all for the care and love you show towards me. Your active cooperation makes my work easier, fills my heart with joy and confidence for the future when I see that you are working and fighting self-denyingly, with great enthusiasm and wisdom for the realisation of the tasks the party and people have charged you with. Your work and that

of all the party and people, your love and that of all the communists and the people give me strength and make me feel younger. When the party is strong and united, when the people are strong and united, I feel such a boundless satisfaction that makes me strong and lengthens my life.

Thank you to all of you.

I wish always happy days to the party, the people and to you, my dear friends.

CSO: 2020/18



LEADERS ATTEND KOMAN POWER PLANT MEETING

AU171512 Tirana ATA in English 0850 GMT 17 Oct 83

["Beautiful Celebration at the 'Enver Hoxha' Hydropower Station of Koman-Enthusiastic Rally in Koman on the Occasion of Naming the Great Energy Project After the Beloved Leader of the Party and People"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Oct (ATA)--Yesterday, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the birth of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Koman seethed with the joy and the enthusiasm of hundreds of people. Builders, cadres and the specialists of the greatest energy project on Drini River were in celebration. Their hydropower station was named after the very beloved and dear name for all the party and people, Enver Hoxha. All expressed their profound love and gratitude for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the unbreakable unity round them, the determination to forge always ahead and to climb new heights.

But this day is the day of great celebrations particularly for the builders of this project "Hero of Socialist Labour." They come chin up and chest out full of successes before the party and the people, as our entire working class.

A big rally was organised at the square in the front of the hall of the machineries.

Those present received with applause the arrival here of the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of finances, Qirjako Mihal; the secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Vangjel Cerrava; the president of the General Council of the TUA [Trade Unions of Albania], Sotir Kocollari; the minister of constructions, Farudin Hoxha; the minister of energy, Lavdosh Ahmetaj and other comrades.

The rally was declared open by the first secretary of the Shkoder District Party Committee, Petro Dode.

Among the great joy of those present, the floor was taken by Comrade Adil Carcani, who greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers. His speech was often punctuated by the enthusiastic acclamations for the party and the dear leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The director of the construction enterprises of this project, Ismail Ahmeti spoke on behalf of the collective of the Koman hydropower station. He expressed the joy of the workers, specialists and cadres for the great honour made to them.

After the rally the party and state leaders paid visit to some of the objects of the hydropower station, where they got acquainted with the hitherto work and the objectives for the future. Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the workers on the satisfactory results and wished them further successes in the construction of this project which will enhance even more the prosperity of our beloved homeland.

CSO: 2020/18

CARCANI SPEAKS AT POWER PLANT

AU171535 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Text] Tirana, 17 Oct (ATA)--Follow excerpts from the speech that the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani held at the meeting organised in the "Enver Hoxha" hydropower station of Koman:

Dear comrades, working people and specialists of the Koman hydropower station, working people and cooperativists of Shkoder District.

As you have learned from the press, by decision of the Central Committee of the party, the Koman hydropower station is named after the beloved leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth. This is a memorable event not only for you, the wonderful builders of the Koman hydropower station, but also for all the communists and working people of our country, to whom the name and glorious revolutionary deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha are sacred.

Allow me on this occasion that on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers to greet and cordially wish you, to carry aloft and with honour the name "Enver Hoxha" hydropower station, which you are successfully building.

The deed and name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, he said further on, are indissolubly linked, like flesh to bone with the whole life and deed of the party, with the life and deed of the people, with this wonderful socialist reality we are experiencing and enjoying today.

Our party has always honourably carried out its mission as the leader of the people in the revolution and the construction of the new socialist life, because it has had the great luck to have in its leadership such an outstanding and tested leader as Comrade Enver Hoxha, loyal disciple and follower of the deed of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Comrade Enver Hoxha's being at the head of the party and state, the Marxist-Leninist thought, his untiring activity and resolute and unwavering stands at the most difficult vital moments for the destinies of the country, have been of great and decisive importance to wage correctly the revolution and socialist

construction, to consolidate and safeguard the attained victories, to guarantee the freedom and independence of our socialist homeland.

The titanic struggle of our party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, against all the revisionist scum, against U.S. Imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and all the obscure forces of oppression and exploitation, will remain as a brilliant page in the history of the international communist and worker movement. This legendary struggle, as well as our magnificent socialist reality, constitute a contribution of great value to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism, to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Our party, Comrade Adil Carcani said further on, always guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings and constant instructions by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the context of the development of the whole economy, has devoted and devotes special attention to the development of energy industry, as a vanguard of the development of the other branches of economy.

Proceeding from the concrete conditions of the country, the considerable water assets we possess, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha since the first congress of the party orientated that electrification must proceed the socialist industrialisation of the country, giving priority to the development of electric power. The implementation of this clear program brought about magnificent achievements and victories in creating a powerful energy industry, which meets the growing needs of economy, even in the years of the great draught, as the last 2 years 1982-1983 were.

Today we have such energy giants as the "light of the party" Fierza hydropower station with an installed capacity of 500,000 kw, the "Enver Hoxha" hydropower station, going up in Koman with a capacity of 600,000 kw designed and set up self-reliantly, by the minds and hearts of the wonderful builders trained so carefully by the party.

Our internal and external enemies have sought to divert us from the correct road, from the policy of our party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the field of the economy in general and in that of energy in particular. In order to realise their hostile, antisocialist and anti-Albanian aims, they have even hidden our energy resources and have hindered us to exploit them, especially in the construction of the hydropower station. But like everywhere, in this field too, they failed with shame. Our energy industry is successfully developed on the road indicated by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, proceeding all the impetuous development of our socialist economy.

As a result of this correct economic policy, socialist Albania today does not suffer from the so-called hunger for energy, as it occurs with the bourgeois-revisionist countries, which are gripped by the energy crisis, as part and parcel of the general crisis of the capitalist and revisionist system. On the contrary, we have managed to secure a positive balance of energy which meets the demands of the country and partially exports. Socialist Albania, once the country of torch and oil lamp, has been turned

today into a completely electrified country. This is a great political victory of the correct economic policy of the party, of the consistent application of the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The construction of "Enver Hoxha" hydropower station in Koman over Drini River, he continues, of this iron and concrete made giant, among the biggest in Europe concerning the installed capacity, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said in the meeting with the workers' group, will further consolidate our energy basis. Its commissioning and the amount of energy it will generate, which is estimated as 17 times higher than all the electric power produced by our hydropower stations in 1960, will greatly strengthen our country's economy.

After speaking of the major successes scored in all the fields of life in our country, over these 4 decades under the people's power Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that all these successes have been realised through the intensive work, the sweat and knowledge of the working class, of the cooperativist peasantry, our cadres and specialists who armed with the ideology of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, equipped with contemporary knowledge, have been up to the historic tasks laid by the 8th congress of the party.

Our people, he said, have come out victorious in all the class battles and have smashed all the external enemies and their stooges at home, beginning with Koci Xoxe and Sejfulla Maleshova up to the multi-agent Mehmet Shehu and his treacherous gang, with Kadri Hazbiu and Co, because the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always been vigilant, resolutely and unwavering to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland, the victories of the revolution and socialism.

A sound political and economic situation exists in our country. It is characterized by the steel-like unity of the people round the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, by a stable economy which develops constantly, by the increasing improvement of the material and spiritual conditions of the life of the people. The defence of the country is strong and invincible. Our people are characterized by a great political consciousness, sound Marxist-Leninist world outlook, proletarian morale and discipline, the love and respect for one another, the rich world and wide spiritual interests.

At a time when a grave situation fraught with crisis, numerous political troubles, stagnation and recession, constant lowering of the standard of living and degeneration of the moral values exist in the capitalist revisionist world, in socialist Albania there is a complete economic and political stability, the production grows unceasingly and at rapid rates, the standard of living is on the increase, the society is sound, the people are guaranteed of the present and the future. At a time when the revisionist countries and many other countries are in great debts, our country is indebted nothing to anybody, on the contrary, those who claim so, are indebted to us. Our economy develops and advances, fully self-reliantly, without any kind of



foreign aid and credit. This is a very great success which is based on the correct line and policy of the party, the ardent patriotism of the people and their unity round the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The achievements are great, he said further on, but the perspective is even more brilliant. Now we have begun the studies to work out the next 5-year plan, which, in all directions, will be really more magnificent than the seventh 5-year plan.

The international situation, Comrade Adil Carcani said further on, is aggravated, fraught with tensions, conflicts and constant threats to the peace and security of the peoples as a result of the aggressive course of the superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The grave economic, political, ideological and spiritual crisis that has gripped the capitalist and revisionist world today has aggravated the inter-imperialist contradictions, their rivalry for zones of influence and world domination, it has incited the hysteria for a new world war.

Accomplishing its internationalist tasks, our party has denounced and will denounce non-stop this aggressive policy of oppression and exploitation, of the peoples, it has supported and will support the struggle of the peoples for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social progress, because a new world war is not avoided without opposing the policy of oppression and aggression of the superpowers, or by smiling once at one and once at the other, but by combating it resolutely.

The policy of our party and socialist state has been and will always be for the strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation with all the freedom loving and peace loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the imperialists. It is for the development of a sincere cooperation in fields of mutual interest with all those countries who wish it well and adopt correct stands towards it. We have wanted and want to have such relations with all the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia included. We have made it clear before the world opinion that we have never interfered in the home affairs of Yugoslavia. On the contrary it is the Yugoslav Titoites who have plotted and continue to plot against the freedom and independence of our country. The defence of the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo and other territories of Yugoslavia by our party and people does not mean at all interference in their home affairs, as the Titoites claim. On the contrary, it is not only a right, but also a task for us to protect the rights of the Albanian brothers who live in their territories in Yugoslavia. This has been and will be in the future too, the unchanged line of our party.

The principled, open and independent internal and foreign policy of our party and socialist state, the correct stand for international questions, the resolute support for the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and social imperialism have increased the prestige and authority of our country in the world. The voice of the party and socialist Albania is listened to and is respected by the peoples, the proletariat and the working



people of various countries of the world, because it accords with their most fundamental interests and aspirations.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani said:

The communists and all the working people of our country are proud of their party and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, of their immortal deed in service of the people, freedom and independence of the homeland, in service of the cause of the revolution and socialism in the national and international scale. Therefore, on the day of the 75th anniversary of the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha, they voice once again their ardent love and profound gratitude for the founder of our party and socialist state, the beloved leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha and wish him wholeheartedly long life, may he live as long as our mountains, to lead them as always on the glorious road of socialism and communism.

CSO: 2020/18

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INCREASE NOTED IN WOMEN JOINING ARMED FORCES

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 18 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by staff writer Michael Mara: "More Women Are to Serve in the National People's Army; First Thorough Training, Then Material Privileges"]

[Text] While in the FRG increasingly more women and girls take to the streets in order to demonstrate against arming and military planning, female GDR citizens are more persistently than ever urged to become involved in the military, and growing numbers of them are included in the "national defense system" --apparently largely unnoticed by the public and by the peace movement in the West as well.

The cornerstone for the military activities of women in the GDR is laid in their childhood. In the Young Pioneer youth organization girls have to participate in "Snowflake Maneuvers" and other military games. During all of their schooling and education they are systematically familiarized with military ideas and are exempted neither from defense education nor from practical forms of defense training, for example the military Hans-Beimler competitions of the FDJ [Free German Youth]. While boys must undergo pre-military education, girls finish a compulsory course in civil defense.

The FDJ expressly requires of its female members that they "themselves actively participate in national defense," and not limit themselves to the support of friends, fiances or husbands who are carrying out their military service. The FDJ leadership has established the task of "further increasing the defense preparedness of all boys and girls." For the same reason the pre-military GST [Society for Sport and Technology] wants to recruit more girls for active pre-military or military sport activity.

These and many other militarization activities are "provided for" by law. In the Military Service Law of 25 March 1982 it is expressly emphasized that the "defense of peace as well as of the socialist fatherland and its achievements" is a "constitutional right and honorable duty of the citizens of the GDR," that is to say including the women. According to this law, not only can female GDR citizens do military service voluntarily, but "during mobilization

and in a defense situation" they are even included "in the general military service" from age 18 to 50.

Fear of war on the one hand and longing for peace on the other are deliberately pitted against each other and used in the GDR in order to motivate women "to make a personal contribution to the military reinforcement of socialism" and in that manner "help to prevent war." In school and in the FDJ the girls are told that for them as well it is "an honor" to wear the uniform of the NVA (National People's Army) or of another national defense organization.

A growing number of women and girls are also doing so. As people in the GDR military proudly summarize, "women and girls to an increasing extent enter armed service in order to defend the fatherland"--"with all their capabilities and with complete devotion." The proportion of women in civil defense formations and operational units has risen to about one-third; in the paramilitary combat groups the number of women in "active service" is also growing.

A similar development can be observed in the regular armed forces. There, women and girls are used in administrative service, at communications centers, in medical service and even as temporary non-commissioned officers, career non-commissioned officers and ensigns, and furthermore in staff service as career officers. Recently they may be encountered more frequently at technical installations. One reason for the "need for women" in the GDR Army may be that the number of young men of military service age is decreasing due to the years with low birth rates, but that more and more specialists who serve longer are needed in all areas.

"Women in uniform" are awarded special consideration. This year new uniforms were introduced for them at considerable expense in order to comply with their wish "to look attractive" in public. Girls who sign up to serve as temporary soldiers or career soldiers or NVA officers while still in school get priority when applying for training and receive the higher basic pay of 300 marks a month as "obligated career officer aspirants." At the end of their period of service, special favorable regulations take effect.

This is possibly one reason why girls sign up voluntarily "for the flag." Among them are conspicuously many daughters of officers, one of whom is Karin H., now 18, from Frankfurt/Oder. Her father was a GDR Army officer for more than 30 years.

Regarding the danger of war, the 18-year-old sees "no reason, actually, why women and girls should not serve in the Army." "After all," they have "the same rights as men when it comes to defending the country." To be sure, she admits that other girls cannot muster the necessary understanding for her decision. Many girls were of the opinion that military service is "nothing for women."

Just how strong the reservations are was also demonstrated when the new defense law took effect. A number of female GDR citizens announced doubts about the regulations to include women in military service and submitted petitions to

state agencies. As was learned at the end of last year, more than 300 women signed a petition to the chairman of the State Council, Honecker. It said, among other things, that the women who signed did not regard army service for women as an expression of their equality. They felt called on to protect life. The women doubted that as conscripts they would be able to act against war and for peace.

Of course, the leadership in East Berlin is not impressed by such arguments, or by doubts and criticism. It values the present contribution by women to the military reinforcement of the GDR "very highly" and wants to leave it at that. For example, even more women are to serve in civil defense and in particular take over leadership functions. The military leadership in East Berlin is also thinking of expanding the "training and operational opportunities" especially for female career officers.

11949

CSO: 2300/15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW DECONTAMINATION EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5 1983 (signed to press 12 Jul 83) pp 270-271

[Article by Lt Col (retired) P. Lassahn, engineer: "EA 12 Device for Special Treatment"]

[Text] The EA 12 special treatment device (brief description AZS-EA 12) replaces the EA 65 deactivation equipment. It is used for the detoxification, deactivation and decontamination of technical combat equipment, weapons and other equipment (following weapons and other equipment) and its main characteristics are equivalent to the synchronized tactical-technical demands for equipment of this kind. Thus, the volume of liquid it contains for special treatment was increased to 1,000 liters (EA 65: 640 liters) and the time for readying it for operation was reduced from 45 minutes for the EA 65 to 28 minutes.

The W 50 LA/A truck was used as basic transport vehicle. A powerful compressor unit is used to fill the working canisters with compressed air. The new work canisters are smaller and lighter. They can also be loaded and unloaded more easily.

1. Construction

The AZS-EA 12 consists of:

- the basic vehicle with mounting units for the work canisters, the loading ramp and ladder
- the work canisters
- the compressor unit
- the central piping system
- the heating equipment and
- the EWZ unit [expansion unknown]

The mounting facility is screwed onto the loading area and is designed for a total of 38 working canisters. Twenty-two working canisters are arranged on the left and 16 working containers and the compressor unit on the right. The loading ramp is located at the rear of the loading area. It leans against the tail gate of the truck and is used to load and unload the working canisters. The roll-off unit is used to unload the working canisters on firm ground (photo 1).

The working canisters are designed as pressurized containers and equipped with an emergency valve (actuating pressure 0.6 MPa) as well as a manometer (photo 2). A 9.5 m long hose, on which a brush with a screwed-on spray nozzle is fastened, is attached to the pressurized canister (photo 3). The spray nozzle has a rotating body and a nozzle plate, both of which can be removed or replaced, in order to adjust the spray cone and to regulate the volume of spray.



Photo 1. EA 12 special treatment unit (without canvas) with loading ramp and roll-off accessory



For organically based detoxification liquids (for example EF 7), the rotating body and a nozzle plate with a 1.5 mm hole are used, and for water-based detoxification fluids (for example EF 4) the rotating body and a nozzle plate with a 2 mm hole, but also without the rotating body. It takes about 25 minutes to empty a filled working canister with an initial pressure of 0.5 MPa by spraying with the rotating body and the nozzle plate with the 1.5 mm hole, about 20 minutes using the rotating body and the nozzle plate with the 2 mm hole and about 12 minutes if using only the nozzle plate with the 2 mm hole.

The compression unit, consisting of a piston-operated compressor and a two-stroke Otto cycle engine of the EI 308 type, is attached to the loading surface. The torque is transferred via a centrifugal clutch. The compressor is equipped with an intake adjustment and is self-regulating. Maximum pressure is 1.0 MPa, minimum pressure 0.7 MPa and the volume of flow 31 m<sup>3</sup>/h. At outside temperatures below 278 K (5 C) the compressor is preheated by a type 251.03 heating unit. This is installed between the cab and the loading surface in a splash water-tight box.



Photo 2. Top of the working canister

The central piping system is used to fill the working canisters with decontamination fluids and pressurized air. The special treatment fluids are brought in and transferred by special treatment vehicles or units, for example the ARS 14 detoxification vehicle. For this purpose external connectors are located on the AZS-EA 12 (M 32 x 2 or connector D/1 from the EWS unit). The compressed air is drawn directly from the compressor facility or from an aggregate or vehicle (including the basic vehicle) producing compressed air via the external connections (coupling head B). The working canister can be filled individually or by row.

The central piping system has a tolerance of +/- 1.0-0.5 liters during fluid fill-up.



Photo 3. Working canister with hose line, work pipe and brush

As with the EA 65, it is possible to recharge the working canisters outside the facility as well, for example with the spray pistol and the compressor from ARS 14.

The EWZ unit is located in a sealable box between the cab and the loading area. It contains replacement parts and accessories for routine maintenance. Furthermore, a set of replacement parts was developed, which contains parts and accessories for intermediate repairs.

## 2. Operating Information

The AZS-EA 12 can be made ready for use more rapidly if, in anticipation of use, the filling and overflow hoses are connected to the working canisters in the outer canister rows. In this manner filling can begin immediately after a detoxification vehicle arrives. In addition, it is considerably easier to connect these hoses to the working canister if the inner rows have not yet been put into the mounting facility.

After filling all the working canisters, the filling and overflow hoses should remain on the inner canister rows, if the place of operation is more than 1 hour's drive away. In that time there may be a drop in pressure in the canisters (a drop from 0.6 to 0.5 MPa is permissible), which can then quickly be compensated for on the site.

If the working canisters are to be filled outside the AZS-EA 12, the following technology must be observed:

- Screw the filling nozzle off the working canisters with the ball cock.
- Close the other ball cocks on the working canister and fill the detoxification fluid into the filling nozzle with the spray pistol until it flows out of the connector.
- Screw the filling seals back on.
- Take the air charging hose from the EWZ unit of the basic vehicle and connect it to the flexible brake tube connection of the basic vehicle or of another vehicle.
- Connect the adapter from the EWZ unit to the air charging hose and then to the filling seal.
- Using an open ball cock, fill the working canisters with compressed air until the manometer shows 0.6 MPa, then close the ball cock, disconnect the air charging hose and put it away.

When the external temperature is below 278 K (5 C), the heating unit must be switched on ahead of time, before operating the compressor facility, and the compressor facility (and the loading area) must be heated. When temperatures are below freezing, the compressor facility, the central tube system and the working canisters must be thoroughly drained.

With the AZS-EA the chemical defense units have been given a system which substantially improves the possibilities for detoxification, deactivation and decontamination of weapons and equipment of the troop elements and units.

Table 1. Tactical-Technical Data for the AZS-EA 12

**AZS-EA 12:**

Weight with filled operational units and with special treatment fluids:	9,400 kg
Length	6,160 mm
Width	2,500 mm

Height	3,200 mm
Time until operational readiness	28 min
Number of working canisters	38 units
Volume of special treatment fluid carried on vehicle	1,007 l

#### LKW W 50 LA/A Basic Vehicle:

Nominal capacity	92 kW
Fuel consumption norm (DK 1)	26 l/100 km
Maximum speed with auxiliary gear	49 km/h

#### Compressor Facility A 2 HV 1-80/105-10L/2: BKG:

Volume flow	31 m <sup>3</sup> /h
Operational pressure, self-regulating	0.7 ... 1.0 MPa
Fuel consumption	3.6 l/h

#### Heating Unit 251.03:

Heating capacity	9,280 W
Rate of air flow	390 m <sup>3</sup> /h
Fuel consumption (DK 1)	1.1 l/h

#### Working Canister:

Total volume	0.040 m <sup>3</sup>
Pressurized volume	0.0135 m <sup>3</sup>
Volume of fluid	0.0265 m <sup>3</sup>
Maximum operational pressure	0.6 MPa
Working pressure	0.5 ... 0.2 MPa
Hose length	9.5 m
Length	363 mm

Width	300 mm
Height	1,375 mm
Weight, filled	62 kg

Table 2. Safety Regulations for Operating the AZS-EA 12

When operating the AZS-EA 12 the following safety regulations must be followed:

- Only technically certified AZS-EA 12 may be used, and the crew members must have operating licenses.
- During operation, personal protective gear in accordance with valid military regulations must be worn.
- The working canisters may only be removed from the mountings when the basic vehicle is standing still, and may not be transported loose on the loading area.
- The compressor facility may only be used when the basic vehicle is standing still.
- Before opening the working canister, the pressure must be reduced at the filling seal.
- Fuelling of the compressor facility and the heating unit, as well as repairs of these, may only be undertaken when they are turned off and cool.
- The heating unit must be switched off before the basic vehicle drives into a fuelling area or is refueled (watch for dieseling).
- Operation of the heating unit in garages and closed spaces is prohibited.
- The crew must wear ear protection when operating the compressor facility.

11949

CSO: 2300/14

## HUNGARY

### BUSH VISIT, TALKS WITH KADAR OUTLINED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Sep 83 p 1, 2

[Article: "George Bush in Budapest"]

[Text] George Bush, U.S. vice president, arrived Monday on an official visit in Hungary at the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the council of ministers.

The special airplane of the high-ranking guest and his escorts landed about noon at the Ferihegy airport which was decorated with Hungarian and American flags. On emerging on the concrete apron of the airport, George Bush and his wife were greeted by Gyorgy Lazar and his wife as well as by Janos Nagy, state secretary for foreign affairs.

Pioneers greeted the guests with bouquets, and then George Bush received the report by the commander of the honor guard which was lined up for the ceremonial event. This was followed by the American and Hungarian national anthems, and then George Bush--accompanied by Gyorgy Lazar--inspected the honor guard.

The reception for the vice president of the United States was attended by Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier, Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, and other leading personalities of Hungarian social and political life. Harry E. Bergold, American ambassador, introduced to the vice president the diplomats of the American Embassy. Then George Bush and his followers were driven in the company of their hosts to their accommodations.

The official Hungarian-American discussions were begun in the afternoon in the Parliament building with a private talk between Gyorgy Lazar and George Bush.

The exchange of ideas was continued with broader participation in the delegation hall of Parliament. The members of the discussion group led by Gyorgy Lazar were Jozsef Marjai, Janos Nagy, and Lajos Nagy, main department chief of the foreign ministry. The American delegation was led by George Bush and the members were Daniel J. Murphy, chief adviser to the vice president, Donald P. Gregg, national security adviser to the vice president, Paula Dobriansky, staff member of the National Security Council, Mark Palmer, office chief responsible for European affairs in the Department of State, and Harry E. Bergold.



Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received Bush in the Parliament building on Monday. In a frank and cordial atmosphere they exchanged views at the meeting on timely questions of the international situation and on the development of Hungarian-American relations. Present at the meeting were Gyorgy Lazar and Janos Nagy, and also Daniel J. Murphy, Donald P. Gregg and Harry E. Bergold.

According to information from the MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Agency] correspondent, the discussions which were conducted in an open and frank atmosphere were characterized by an effort for a mutual understanding of positions. Both sides reviewed the situation in Hungarian-American relations. It was stated that cooperation has developed particularly since the signing of the commercial agreement, and the existing framework provides further possibilities for progress, primarily in the economic and commercial area. At the same time it was brought up that cooperation between Hungarian and American enterprises is retarded by the fact that American law calls for an annual decision on the renewal of the most favored nation status. Both sides agreed that this reduces the security of transactions and makes it more difficult to expand and further develop relations.

Mention was made of the results in cultural and scientific cooperation, and it was the mutual view of the discussion partners that it would be desirable if tourism were given a more important role in the development of relations. After the discussions George Bush and his escorts made a brief tour of the Parliament building.

In the evening Gyorgy Lazar and his wife gave a banquet in the hunters' hall in honor of Vice President George Bush and his wife. Gyorgy Lazar and George Bush exchanged toasts.

In Sunday's discussion which lasted late into the evening between Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian president, and George Bush, the American vice president, there was talk of bilateral Romanian-American relations, primarily about the development of economic cooperation, and about international problems including chiefly the Geneva talks. In the four and one-half hour conversation, Stefan Andrei, the foreign minister, was present from the Romanian side, and on the American side Admiral Daniel Murphy, the personnel chief of the vice president. At the beginning of the talks Bush delivered Ronald Reagan's "friendly greetings" to Nicolae Ceausescu, who in turn sent Reagan his "cordial greetings and good wishes."

According to the official Romanian communique which was issued late in the evening, they evaluated favorably the bilateral relations, but both sides believed that there are possibilities for mutual deepening of their relations in economic, technical scientific, cultural and other areas. They held a wide-ranging exchange of ideas on the international situation and on the possibilities of strengthening peace and cooperation.

At his press conference before his departure Bush spoke with satisfaction of his talks in Bucharest emphasizing that these were effectual, comprehensive and frank.

Foreign Minister Varkonyi Visits U.S., UN

At the invitation of George Shultz, American secretary of state, Dr Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian foreign minister, went on an official visit Monday to Washington. Following the official visit, the foreign minister as head of the Hungarian delegation will participate in the 38th session of the UN General Assembly.

Keith Smith, charge d'affaires a.i. at the Budapest Embassy of the United States, was present to bid farewell to Dr Peter Varkonyi at the Ferihegy airport.

6691

CSO: 2500/26

SOCIOLOGIST ELEMER HANKIS INTERVIEWED IN YUGOSLAV PUBLICATION

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 83 pp 28-29

[Interview with Elemer Hankis, Hungarian author of the book "Diagnoses," by Milos Corovic, date and place not specified]

[Text] The book "Diagnoses" by Elemer Hankis is the center of attention among our neighbors, on topics which until yesterday were ignored. What sort of factions exist in Hungary...Reforms only in the economy or in society...Marxism and social transformation...Hankis speaks also of the battles behind the scenes in the last 20 years.

Hankis, with his book "Diagnoses" has at once entered the orbit of public interest, is one of those sociologists, and there are an inposing number of them, who are creating a "laboratory," the purpose of which is to provide preliminary processing of many phenomena which appear on the surface of an event or underneath it, as well as predictions, or, in other words, they have a theoretical interest in something which has not yet manifested itself, but which evidence says deserves appropriate study.

What is the essence of your research, to what do you give priority--we ask Elemer Hankis.

[Answer] Today, when we see certain phenomena which are already to a great extent daily practice, and above all practices which we note under the common name "reform," we can conclude that these have been the central themes of sociological research just before they appeared in the guise of reform. With a clear conscience it can be said that the essential preoccupation of Hungarian sociologists are just those themes which must provide answers to the question: In what direction is this society to proceed?

Only the question is no longer whether it is via reform or some other way, but how widely to begin these reforms and what are the most effective methods so that the course of reform will include not only some segments, but society in its entirety.

## The Courting Relationship of Science Toward Politics

**Question** These are obviously broad themes. How does public opinion react to that? Or, does there exist public opinion in the full meaning of those words?

**Answer** A characteristic at the present time in Hungary lies in the fact that the climate is becoming favorable for airing controversial positions, these positions are confronting those which are "in line," and this is being used in various forms so that sooner or later it will affect the formation of public opinion. Some sociologists, whose viewpoints official policy must consider thoroughly, will tell you quite openly that the expression of "nonconformist views" is to a certain degree possible also because the political winds themselves are in search of means of organizing society, i.e., more effective and more humane means than the present ones, so that the sails, viewed generally and spoken symbolically, "are turned in one direction."

Nevertheless, something is lacking, which is felt both by science (especially sociology) and policy (official), so that this influence of one on another through discussion and confrontation becomes some sort of natural segment of the atmosphere, something automatic. Just that factor is lacking which would be imposed by the power of its existence as a normal and acceptable socio-political category.

This is what should be somewhere "between" science and policy, at the center of events and at the center of decisions, and which does not exist as of now, since the essential assumptions for its long term and faultless functioning have not been created, as sociologists see and confirm. And this is—society, society not as a mass, not as a collection of layers and classes, but society as public opinion, as a corrective to the opinions of both science and policy, as a factor which accepts everything real and progressive, and which dismisses theories and hypotheses which are not in line with its actual needs and requirements. In this area, at least as sociologists see things, much must still be done.

If we could reach a point where science did not court politics, then inter-communication between social science and official politics would be much more fruitful. Some unavoidable progressive solutions cannot be postponed ad infinitum, just as we cannot permit the answers to some current questions to be given too late.

### How Will the Poorest Survive the Turning Point?

**Question** When you speak of "progressive solutions" and answers to current questions, it is obvious that from several sides they come up against old schemes and outmoded categories. How does this manifest itself? What are the subject areas which touch the most on sensitive questions?

**Answer** Old categories and approaches no longer fit into reality, which in the past quarter of the century has not only changed its physical aspect in

these areas, but has escaped from several schemes which had been imposed earlier. The study and mastery of what is now a necessary prerequisite for further progress must now be the task and essential preoccupation of sociologists (regardless of how this is undertaken as a subject of research by daily politics).

At the center of the circle of themes which are thus treated is, quite understandably, reform in the broadest sense of the word. It is not remarkable that priority has been given to reform as an economic category, indeed with all social implications, since the first steps have been taken in this direction. What is unclear and debatable (both among sociologists themselves and politicians and, to a certain extent, official policy as well) is whether the future effects of an orientation to a free market have been sufficiently studied, from the point of view of a just distribution of social burdens.

Because even somewhat "weakened" laws of the marketplace, which socialism must more and more obey, will bring to the surface with the force of an eruption the problem of those who "through no fault of their own are guilty," and these make up 20 to 30 percent of the total population (this is an army of almost two million poor pensioners and families with several children), who can do nothing or very little for themselves to improve their position in new, much more severe conditions.

**[Question]** The social restratification in Hungary has always proceeded with very evident dynamism. What is the position of you sociologists on this question?

**[Answer]** The social transformation in Hungary has already progressed so far that many phenomena cannot be explained, as they should be, by classical tenets of Marxism, so it is thus necessary, while holding to Marxist foundations, to resort to methods which will validate those phenomena of reality which could not be predicted earlier.

Institutions or Man?

Those who support the complex approach--for the validation of so much new that has happened in the social restratification in Hungary--and those who still hold to the inflexible approaches to classes and the scheme of relationships among them, are carrying on a discussion which gives justification to that side which is seeking new breakthroughs and is conquering new realms. This would be the other subject area in which they cross swords.

**[Question]** And the third area? Is it possible to sketch the future picture of Hungary on the basis of everything which is being discussed?

**[Answer]** The third area can be summed up in a single question for which there may not be any scientific basis or justification for asking, which is: Should we at this time, when it is necessary first of all to emerge from difficulties and a crisis situation, direct social (and also economic)



action to the modernization of institutions, or should we, ignoring the institutions, influence man toward "correcting" his consciousness, as a factor which with its increased force and significance will help in finding paths in the direction to which we are aspiring?

It is more and more clear that the target is not only the institutions and not only man and his consciousness, but both.

Are Only Economic Reforms Enough?

Question Does it not seem to you that the discussion of this is somewhat forced? What is the picture of the future?

Answer If discussion of the preceding circle of themes is forced, which I have pointed out to a certain degree in my answers to the above questions, this cannot be said of those who seek an answer to the question: Is it possible to satisfy adequately the needs of society (if that is possible at all) with purely economic reforms, without undertaking reform on a broad social scale?

Will this be one technically centralized society, maximally computerized, but without social components, as some sociologists see in the development going on in the German Democratic Republic?

Will this be the so-called enterprise socialism as exists to a great extent in Hungary today, where greater freedom is allowed, as well as the creation of independent economic entities and lower level organs, which to a great extent deviate from rigid state ownership, where state property is leased out to private individuals, and in some spheres is even sold, where a stimulative character is given to income, but where, even so, the production relationships remain at an undeveloped level?

And, finally, will Hungarian society be gradually organized so that it sees its image and future vision in a fundamental social, self-management transformation, which assumes the abandonment of many current schemes, beginning with the position and role of the working man and lower-level organs of power, and reaching to the rulers, the party, to their role in society and their relations towards other active factors of society?

Question You have come to sensitive subjects. Are there others?

Answer Not only is the "model of the future" a sensitive subject, but there are subjects which touch on the past and extend to the present. Some sociological studies, for example, of the transformation of the system of values in Hungarian society in the past 50 years, along with constant comparison of that process here in this country with that which along the same lines has taken place in the United States, touch on sensitive points, but not as much as one study on the behind-the-scenes political battles in Hungary in the last 20 years. Because of the theme itself and the implications of its study, it has not yet found a publisher.

Question Why?

Answer Because all the friction and disagreements among the various "factions"--industrial, agrarian, trade union, reform--are depicted lucidly and faithfully, which is a somewhat different picture of unity and consensus from that which is projected from the platforms at congresses of the party, the unions, the National Front....One can indeed say that these are inevitable discussions which should not be denounced until final positions have been taken.

The interests of the groups, which the sociologists call "factions," with minor skirmishes and clashes, at times come to blows and at times are at peace, as they either win or lose in power, one might say, according to the strength of the influences of the sociological debates on the outside. At the same time, the more pronounced feeling of interdependence among politicians is not entirely neglected by sociologists, and this is obvious in the very fact that some sharp, even extreme positions on the reorganization of society have been significantly muted since socialism in Poland entered the phase it is in today.

And the theme of "self-management" was formerly "taboo" here. Today it is no longer: the effects of all models are being carefully and critically examined, including, above all the Yugoslav model, as the most original, and accordingly, in the theoretical projections onto domestic conditions one's own possibilities are being carefully taken into consideration.

How Do You Explain the Success of "Diagnoses"?

Question The second edition of your "Diagnoses" has recently appeared. To what do you ascribe such a great interest?

Answer I could say that any text which openly and without distortion speaks on sensitive questions of current relevance has a chance to be published in more than one edition. The public interest in sociological research and analysis is on the increase. There are more books which have attracted attention, not fewer.

With phenomena which manifest themselves on the surface or beneath it, one must take them in their original form. Hungarian society in many of its manifestations has not yet fully "digested" some of the requirements and needs of the times, many old assumptions on morals, in the broadest sense of the word, have been demolished, but new forms and ways of behavior have not taken root.

Our national cohesion is not yet on a high level--there still pulses a strong feeling of national guilt in the spirit of the people, the order and system of values are nowhere near where they should be, we wander in search of a present-day hero, the population is not sufficiently informed, democratization in behavior and decisionmaking is cutting a path for itself. This is what in brief I have presented in my "Diagnoses." I recognize that many of my findings may have an unpleasant effect on individuals or groups. I can only say this for myself. I have honestly read our reality.

12537

CSO: 2800/2

PARTY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES REPORTS CAMPAIGN

LD162134 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Interview by unidentified reporter with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member; time and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] The 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum passed a resolution on conducting the report-back and electoral campaign in the regional party echelons up to the voivodship level. I asked Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the party Central Committee, for information on this subject.

[Mokrzyaszczak] The awareness of the fact that we must conduct the report-back and electoral campaign at the turn of the year--that is the end of 1983 and beginning of 1984--was common knowledge in the party, because this is in the statute, and we must carry it out. Therefore, most of the party organizations supported the need to carry out this campaign.

[Reporter] What will constitute the material base, [word indistinct], the intellectual base for carrying out the campaign?

[Mokrzyaszczak] Above all, the documents of the Ninth Congress. It will be necessary in this campaign to evaluate the main, the supreme party resolutions, as well as to analyze the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions in its successive sessions. Also the regional echelons will have to evaluate the implementation of their own resolutions.

It is necessary, in this discussion--in the entire preparatory work, during all meetings, in the groups, in the primary party departmental organizations, as well as in the first and second degree echelons and at the voivodship level--to draw the correct conclusions as to how to outline the party's program for the next term, until the Tenth Congress. As to what should be considered most important in this program, the Politburo guidelines previously adopted on these issues will be helpful.

The second extremely important platform of the report-back and electoral campaign is [word indistinct] the people in the party. Here it is necessary to carry out--during the report-back campaign--a detailed analysis of the attitudes of the party members, their behavior in the very difficult conditions of our

social life, and in the economic life in the works enterprises. It will also be necessary to thoroughly investigate and call to account those party members who fulfill leading functions in various sectors of our social and economic life, for their performance in discharging correctly the party mandate. I think that this ought to become a permanent element of not just the campaign, but of the general practice of our political life. [Several words indistinct] to thank for their work in the period that was very difficult for the party, because they performed their party work solidly and honestly. Also in the campaign we ought to bring about a higher level of activity among party members, not just in the party, but also outside of the party. According to our evaluations and our meetings and talks with members of the primary party organizations, this is an area that should be promoted. I hope that the party organizations will take advantage of this.

For the party to have a universal character, every party member must have a strictly defined party task, and must know that some time later he will have to justify his performance. Therefore, we suggest here in the documents--this was also mentioned in the report by Comrade Czyrek, and also I stressed this in my speech--that all these new elements, this new style of the party, be adopted; a style described as getting closer to the party rank and file and closer to the working people. When saying this I have in mind the solid, honest and consistent implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum, reactions to letters, suggestions and complaints, not just from party members but also from ordinary citizens who wonder if they can approach the party committees with their complaints. This is terribly important, and I think that the first positive responses to the implementation of this resolution, good implementation, must simply be continued and perfected.

One has to achieve continuity, which is tremendously important. Furthermore, although it requires an enormous amount of work, particularly for the party apparatus, there is the requirement we accepted following the Seventh Plenum: The transcription of Central Committee resolutions, as is also done by other echelons, in a detailed timetable, with dates, responsible party comrades who are to realize them. That also, in my opinion, ought to become a permanent component of the work and functioning of the party. After all this is something that can be checked. It is easy while conducting a report or report-back and election campaign, for an honest periodic report to party members, as well as to society as a whole. This is something we do; we publish them in the press.

I think the resolutions we have adopted during the Thirteenth Plenum will also be transcribed in detail according to this procedure into a system of timetables to be implemented. I think that another permanent element worthy of full and continuous implementation is that of our consultative meetings with members of the Central Committee, where we discuss beforehand the documents that are most important for the party, [words indistinct] we collect information, and in practice work them out together.

Party members have contacts with the authorities at all levels, with industrial enterprises; direct participation in open party meetings, but also talks during our meetings in industrial enterprises and separate departments. This is something that has already been positively assessed and favorably received, and it should continue.

As part of the issues outside the party connected with the report-back and electoral campaign, the Central Committee has also adopted a provisional set of electoral regulations for the delegates and party authorities at the voivodship level [words indistinct] party authorities and appropriate commissions, that is the auditing commission and the party control commission. The work on these regulations had gone on for many months, and the recent consultative meeting have shown that it was going in the right direction. Of course, we had to stick to the statute. Only in cases in which the statute does not define these things does the interpretation then, in accordance with the statute, rest with the Central Committee. Hence, we proposed all these issues and we have been supported.

The set of regulations and the campaign assumptions themselves will be adopted by the Central Committee without serious amendments or corrections. They were worked out together, practically speaking; and they should pass the test in practice effectively.

[Interviewer] Thank you very much. Tomorrow's press will carry the winding up speech of Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

CSO: 2600/112



OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PARTY INFLUENCE ON YOUTH

AU191504 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15/16 Oct 83 pp 6, 7

[Interview given by Leszek Miller, head of the PZPR Central Committee Youth Department, to Piotr Rządca: "The Chances Have Not Been Taken Advantage Of Yet"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Rządca] Has young people's participation in social life increased compared with last year, before the Ninth Central Committee Plenum?

[Miller] Certain progress has certainly come about, but still not enough to give satisfaction. Above all, we are noticing something that can be described as "activity of the most active people"--a clear growth of involvement in public life by young people possessing an energetic attitude toward life. These young people have been the first to take advantage of the possibilities opened up by the Ninth Plenum, at which the party committed itself to give young people the right conditions for social and political activity. The stance adopted at the plenum served as an encouragement to people possessing imagination and desiring to alter reality. These people are setting a better and better example to others. They are creating facts, and today facts are the best inspiration. After all, practice is the "queen of truth." Unfortunately, there are many young people who remain passive....

[Rządca] Could this mean that the party's offer has not reached them?

[Miller] The party's offer is totally unacceptable to some young people for the very reason that it is the party that made it. The reasons behind such an attitude have already been described many times and I do not have to repeat them. Still others believe that nothing can be changed, so one has to wait 5 or 10 years. There are also young people who do support the party's goals but do not identify themselves with the party....

[Rządca] I have the impression that many young people do not understand the essence of the reforms that have been initiated. They do not realize that these reforms lie in the interests of their generation.

[Miller] That is indeed the way it is. Thousands of words have been spoken and written about the reforms, but even so they have still not penetrated the consciousness of all young people. Maybe we should take a look at journalists

to examine the effectiveness of their influence? Maybe there is some psychological barrier involved--some people assume straightaway that one should not trust what the authorities are saying. I would look for the source of the existing state of affairs in the situation of a few years ago. It was then that young people had a place in social and political structures that was, as it were, "accredited" to them. Yet today this place has to be fought for. No one will guarantee them this place in advance.

[Rzadca] Is there already discernible progress in ideological and political work among young people?

[Miller] I would like to begin by saying that young people's ideological knowledge is not in the best possible state. Many years' neglect and the aggressive activity of the opponents of socialism have caused visible havoc in the minds of young people. At the same time, a kind of ideological hunger appears among many young people, the sudden searching for ideological orientations and permanent values. We come across the view that Polish youth has lost interest in the world of ideas and that the mania for possessing objects is spreading. This simplification is not confirmed by facts.

[Rzadca] The principle whereby young party members should influence young people and the youth movement means that the importance, role and responsibility of these young party members is rising.

[Miller] We regard the youth movement as the party's most important ally in the work of influencing the young generation ideologically and politically. We believe at the same time that the situation requires that all the possibilities that the party itself possesses be taken advantage of. One of these possibilities is the activation of young party members, who number about 260,000. The July conference at the "Olivia" hall in Gdansk was the start of this activation. This conference was an attempt to bring new experiences and new feelings into the party. For if we ask ourselves who should impart ideological awareness to young people most of all and at the same time counteract the influence of the political opponent, the answer is unequivocal: young party members, because young people are best influenced by other young people.

[Rzadca] What does the party expect of the youth movement?

[Miller] As always, it expects a firm acceptance of and support for the party's program, and it expects young people to be organized into implementing this program. We expect therefore that the youth movement will cause young people to be active in all areas of social life. Why is this activity so important today? Because no one is going to wait for us. The young citizens of the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are not waiting, and neither are the young people of the United States and Japan.

[Rzadca] Today is a time when myths about the West are constantly circulating among young people and when petty-bourgeois and cunning attitudes are clearly appearing. There is of course no shortage of young people who are speculators, even young people with degrees. Should youth organizations not combat this?

[Miller] The picture of the West as seen through shop displays and through black market dollar transactions is unfortunately still continuing. The myths about the West are as deep as the disappointments about it. When the first Polish emigrants went to the United States, they imagined that the streets in America were paved with gold. When they arrived it turned out that first, they were not paved with gold, second that they were not paved at all, and third that it is the Polish emigrants who were meant to pave them.

Profiteering and speculation are unfortunately the result of our situation. By the way, we must do everything we can so that young inventors and professionals may enjoy prestige and more respect than people who trade with goods purchased from the shops, and we must do it quickly. We must do this even if the latter category of people earn more money than the first. A young professional must possess other assets which will give him satisfaction. I have nothing against groups of musicians, but any leader of such a group is better known than an eminent young engineer, surgeon, or electronics expert.

[Rzadca] We are talking about the young generation, but this generation is the fruit of the old generation....

[Miller] Questions about young people are of course questions about society and about its structures and processes. One can say with a bit of exaggeration that every nation has the kind of young people it deserves. So if we observe certain faults among young people and inflate these faults, we must remember that this is the result of our activity. I will give a clearer example. Young people have taken part in all kinds of illegal demonstrations and have suffered the full consequences thereof. But have their upbringers, their guardians, teachers, advisers, all those who encouraged them, failed to stop them, or displayed a "well-meaning neutral stance" also suffered the consequences!? The older section of society must bear a greater sense of responsibility for the entire young generation. This is a banal truth, but one that is often forgotten.

CSO: 2600/111

PZPR OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON LACK OF IDEOLOGY

AU171657 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Oct 83 pp 1, 5

[Interview given by Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, to Krystyna Kostrzewa: "We Must Struggle For Society's Knowledge"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kostrzewa] The last time ideological problems were discussed as the main topic of a plenary session was 20 years ago, in July 1963. Therefore the current plenum, dedicated as it is to ideology, has caused interest, and not only among party members. People generally feel that the PZPR's activity has concentrated on the economy and on organizational matters.

[Loranc] And we paid a dear price for the insufficient interest in ideology. The neglect of ideological training inside the party and a failure to propagate socialist ideology in the minds of society meant that political practice departed from its theoretical sources, which inevitably leads to misfortune, including a lack of resistance by society toward the actions of opponents of the system which this society has built. This is shown by the experience of the communist movement, and above all by Poland's experience. A party that is ideologically weak cannot react to inconsistencies in socialist development in time and overcome them, and this leads to crisis, as it did in Poland at the end of the seventies. The Ninth PZPR Congress admitted this in all honesty.

[Kostrzewa] What are presently the main dangers which need to be opposed by means of ideological influence on society, since this is supposed to be the aim of the 13th Plenum?

[Loranc] Despite the positive changes inside the party, there is still a need to permanently shape the ideological attitudes of party members so that they become fully capable of action and so that all party members may be more energetic and better equipped with the right arguments to make every action of theirs effective. This is an important condition behind implementing the ninth congress program, especially its line of struggle, accord and reforms. These ideological requirements are posed by the need to correctly understand the class struggle, social justice and economic phenomena. In no case can one be guided by instinct or purely by political experience. Knowledge of the truth of this is becoming more and more widespread among party members and is noticeable more and more.

The need to make a detailed analysis of political phenomena and to implement ideology results from the current international situation. We are faced with a mass attack by international imperialism on socialism and on our country in particular as never before. This constitutes a serious threat, especially if we fail to realize who is directing this attack. The mass activity of the international antisocialist forces is closely coordinated with the activity of the antisocialist forces inside the country. Since the beginning of the crisis, these forces have been aiming to discredit Marxism-Leninism and present it--as General Jaruzelski has said--as "alien and inadequate" for Polish conditions and the Polish mentality. Propaganda attacks are accompanying armaments on an unheard-of scale, which is meant to weaken the economies of many countries in the world. The attacks on our country are in addition accompanied by economic restrictions meant to ruin our economy and which hit at no one except the working people. Polish society--and especially Polish young people who, born since the war and not possessing the experience of their parents and forebears, are often completely powerless in the face of these phenomena as recent years have shown--must be better ideologically equipped than ever before. Ideology will give them a clearer picture of the world.

[Kostrzewa] General experience shows that the antisocialist forces have been broken up and have lost their social significance. This is illustrated by numerous facts which need no mentioning here. It has happened this way not only because of the firm opposition by the political and state authorities, who could not allow the country to go completely into anarchy, but also, and perhaps above all, because of a lack of wider support for these forces by society, and especially the workers' class.

[Loranc] That is true, but there are still antisocialist forces underground who cannot be ignored because they are acting jointly with the Western anti-socialist forces who are rendering them considerable material and political support, and because life is not easy for all of us on account of the sharp political crisis, and a difficult life presents a chance for demagogy and for unscrupulous hostile activity to win. Not all of society can see the external threat to the country and therefore to society as well. Not everyone can see the perfidious playing of the "Polish card" by the foreign opponent and the anti-Polish activity of the domestic underground which submits to this opponent. There are still many doubtful, apathetic and distrustful people. We must get through to people like this. We must quite simply struggle for their consciousness and, above all, for their political views. If we do not fight--including with our own ideological resources--the opposition which is, let us say, professional in nature today, will constantly regenerate and grow. Professionals can become more dangerous, especially when they are praised, worshipped and honored, and in any case they can interfere with the harmonious social effort to achieve progress in the country and strengthen its position in the world.

CSO: 2600/110



ARMY OFFICER DISCUSSES MILITARY EDUCATION, IDEOLOGY

AU191456 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 9 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Colonel Leslaw Wojtasik, deputy head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces by Zbigniew Zdanowicz: "We Serve Our Country Always and Everywhere"--date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Zdanowicz] Are the armed forces a specific educational institution?

[Wojtasik] In our educational system we put emphasis on forming character, especially traits like dedication, the ability to withstand difficulties, and social discipline. A soldier does, after all, work as part of a team, and implements many tasks together with others. All this encourages us to cultivate specific habits in our soldiers, habits that are, I think, also essential in civilian life, and which shape their sociopolitical attitudes, this is also served by our systems to promote competitiveness and leadership in our soldiers, as well as to encourage their participation in activities for political and social organizations, by the modern and constantly up-dated system of ideological and political education, and by various forms of cultural as well as educational work.

In this way, we are making our soldiers aware of all the honest facts about the social and political phenomena that are taking place at home and abroad, while we are, at the same time, making it possible for them to make a proper assessment of the subversive activities of our political opponents.

We also have to fill in the gaps and shortcomings in their education. Here, I can cite the negative effects of withdrawing accounts of recent history from professional training schools, as an example. We have had to make up for these shortcomings in our education system, because we cannot promote the history of the armed forces without having a basic knowledge of history.

Another example of making up for these shortcomings is the economic education that we give our soldiers, because we know how important a knowledge of our economic mechanism is among the younger generation in the present situation.

A conscious, well-organized effort to educate the armed forces makes people more mature in their civic, political, ideological, and ethical attitudes to work, social property, and their feeling of responsibility for the country, and so forth.

[Zdanowicz] But a young man does, after all, spend 2-3 years at the most in the army, which is why I would like to know what effect this has on him?

[Wojtasik] Despite this relatively short period of time, the influence of this education is, nevertheless, productive. It is sufficient to compare the attitudes of soldiers who are just commencing their service with those of the ones who are finishing it. They differ not only in the fact that the latter have a higher level of learning and more qualifications, but also in the fact that they are more mature as citizens, and in the political sense. It is precisely while they are in the armed forces that a great deal of these young men join the PZPR or the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. Our research shows that a large percentage of our reservists get involved in social work immediately after they leave the army, and very frequently revive the activities going on within their own communities, in rural areas for example.

[Zdanowicz] But there is Comrade Colonel, an opinion at large which claims that the younger generation is materialistic, obsessed with the consumer lifestyle, and indifferent to social matters. Some people are afraid that this may lead to a weakening of patriotic feelings?

[Wojtasik] I do not have such views. They are often the product of [word indistinct] generalizations. We cannot treat young people like a congeneric group that has been isolated from the entire class system. I think that consumer-based attitudes, and the reprehensible behavior that is born of them constitutes only a narrow margin. Young people's commitment is evidenced by their exemplary military service and their dedicated work for the country. Let me remind you that it was precisely young people in uniform who performed their soldierly duty when it came to the ultimate test, and at a very difficult time for the nation. They demonstrated their political maturity, civic responsibility, and spiritual stamina, while they were effectively carrying out the order to save the fatherland when it was in need, and so evidenced their unity and ties with the people, as well as their profound patriotism.

[Zdanowicz] Will you, Comrade Colonel, agree with the view that it was precisely for this reason that anticommunist centers of subversion made such fierce attacks on the armed forces?

[Wojtasik] There is no doubt that these centers are interested in destroying the armed forces, or at least in weakening them. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the people's Polish Armed Forces stand on guard to protect socialism and its achievements in Poland. They are an important body in the defense system of the socialist community. "The allied bonds between the states of the Warsaw Pact," as Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of our party, stressed, "are the historical achievement of our army and our people, the cornerstone of our security and of the peaceful development of socialist Poland."

The awareness of this fact is widespread in the ranks of the people's Polish Armed Forces. The calculations of those who wish to break the ties between the people's army and the people themselves are treacherous, as are the intentions of those who want to destroy the bond between the people and the PZPR, their leading class and their vanguard. Our state's alliances were built on national and class-based prerequisites and not, as our home-bred politicians think, exclusively on geopolitical prerequisites.

OFFICIAL ASSESSES VOIVODSHIP CONTROL RESULTS

AU171411 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Oct 83 pp 1, 5

[Interview with General of Brigade Edward Drzazga, head of the Main Territorial Inspectorate by Krzysztof Szczesniak: "The Wasted 15 Months"--date and place not given]

[Text] On Monday, 10 October, the Opole Voivodship control was concluded. In connection with this, our RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent asked General of Brigade Edward Drzazga, head of the Main Territorial Inspectorate, for an interview.

[Szczesniak] The concise communique which was issued states that this time the control was not credited. What are the reasons behind this statement?

[Drzazga] This means that the Opole Voivodship can expect yet another visit from the Main Territorial Inspectorate in the future because it has not carried out the tasks and recommendations that were issued the complex Armed Forces' Inspectorate control carried out 15 months ago.

[Szczesniak] Why? Perhaps not everything could be done in such a short period of time?

[Drzazga] If this was really the case, as in the environmental protection field for example, then we would have taken these extenuating circumstances into consideration in the final analysis. But this is not where the problem lies. All the voivodship's administrative and economic levels which received proposals from the Armed Forces' Inspectorate made real efforts to eliminate shortcomings. Unfortunately, they did not go about this in the correct way. The operational timetable of activities which was drawn up was too general, had too many slogans, and did not contain any clear-cut ways of conducting these activities, ways which would allow us to eliminate the shortcomings which have been noticed effectively and for good. Many of the tasks stipulated were in line with the range of duties that the bodies intended to perform them were already fulfilling. As a result of this, however, we have ascertained that the post-control recommendations which were made were not implemented. The best proof of this is the fact that out of the eight departments which were controlled, three were assessed as unsatisfactory, four were barely satisfactory, and only one, that of agriculture, was satisfactory.

[Szczesniak] In other words, the Opole Voivodship authorities were not particularly worried about implementing the duties which the Armed Forces' Inspectorate imposed on them?

[Drzazga] Certainly not, they were very concerned to do this and in no small way. They took great pains to carry out a considerable number of controls, so many in fact, that they were perfunctory, frequently omitted post-control recommendations, and failed, because of this, to bring about the intended results. Aside from that, the voivodship authorities, while concentrating their efforts on these controls, neglected their current activities, while we did not, after all, limit ourselves to only checking the degree to which the Armed Forces' Inspectorate post-control proposals had been implemented since we were also interested in how administrative, economic, and cooperative bodies now function in the Opole Voivodship at all their various levels.

[Szczesniak] And what conclusions did you arrive at?

[Drzazga] We are, above all, making a critical appraisal of the administrative ways and methods used by voivodship institutions to control the primary level organizations which are subordinate to them, because there are too few demands being made of the staff they control, and tasks are not performed. Another conclusion was that people's attitudes should urgently change in relation to the basic duty of work. Aside from the positive examples to be found in industry, the private economy, and state run agriculture, we have noticed that there is a glaringly neglectful attitude, and one that is worthy of the loudest condemnation, regarding work in a large part of the cooperative sector of the economy. This attitude is all the worse because its workers receive the incentive of much higher wages than state economy workers, and this attitude is responsible for poor morale. There is, on the other hand, much time and energy being wasted, and little respect being shown for property. Such shortcomings are countless, and there was no shortage of cases of plain slovenliness. Here are some examples: We had to close a dairy in Lambinowice and a private bar in Namyslowie. The sanitary and hygienic state of these establishments was an outrage to basic health regulations. We found disorder, disarray, insufficiently insured property, and bad management in every corner of the manufacturing cooperatives in Niwnica, near Nysa, and in the Gogolin Parish District. We discovered negligence toward the technical standard of the equipment and poor punctuality regarding the times that managers and dispatchers turned up for work at transportation depots. I could go on like this for some time.

[Szczesniak] The guilty must pay for this, what are the proposals of the Main Territorial Inspectorate on this?

[Drzazga] The voivodship was presented with our proposals. We proposed that a total of 26 persons be charged with being professionally responsible for such shortcomings, and we have also given the voivodship a list of people who deserve recognition. Aside from that, the results of our controls in the Opole Voivodship were handed over to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. We expect that, after the ministers have made an analysis of these results, they will then also make specific decisions.



PROVINCIAL WORKER SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Factor in Economic Reform

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Henryk Kaczmarczyk, Polish Economic Society Provincial Administration, Bydgoszcz]

[Text] Proper functioning of worker self-government in enterprises is of vital importance for normal implementation of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform and more rapid emergence from the crisis. This finding clearly follows from the resolution of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic passed on 30 June 1983. It 's a good thing that in its resolution the Sejm put an end to various unhealthy tendencies toward restricting the authority of worker self-government.

In the resolution we read among other things that "worker self-government activities represent the realization of one of the fundamental principles of the constitution, that of participation by the working class and worker personnel in the management of enterprises."

In no event should these activities be restricted by the administration, but unfortunately attempts of this kind are encountered, especially ones by the central authorities and enterprise associations. Worker self-government is a form of harmonious linking of the interests of different occupational groups; it also facilitates cooperation between management and trade unions in wage and social welfare matters and in matters relating to protection of the fundamental interests of society.

This thesis is confirmed among other things by the 30 June 1983 resolution of the Polish Sejm in the matter of the introduction of the economic reform. The Sejm also confirmed the necessity of increasing the range of wide publicity on the subject of the principles, mechanisms, and instruments of the economic reform, with attention paid in particular to training of self-government activists.

To accede to the demand of society, the administration of the Bydgoszcz branch of the Polish Economic Society decided to resume in the last 3 months of 1983 the one-day seminars for the worker self-government activists of enterprises, and for worker council activists in particular.



Applications are accepted by the District Administration Office of the Polish Economic Society in Bydgoszcz, at ul. Długa 34. Information can be obtained by telephone at 22-32-55 or 22-67-81. The eight-hour seminars will be held on 3, 4, 10, 11, 17, 18, 24, 25, and 31 October 1983 at the Dom Ekonomisty [Economist House], ul. Długa 34, Bydgoszcz.

At the same time, a new publication entitled "The Economic Reform in enterprise Practice" has been prepared by the District Administration of the Polish Economic Society. It covers all the principles, mechanisms, and instruments of the reform and includes the update introduced by the 30 June 1983 resolution of the Polish Sejm, which is to go into effect on 1 January 1984. An appendix to the publication includes 30 samples of documents of a state enterprise worker council which are especially useful in the work of enterprise worker council. Because of the limited number of copies printed, orders for the book will be filled in chronological order of receipt. Written orders should be forwarded to the District Administration, Polish Economic Society - Bydgoszcz 85-034, ul. Długa 34. The book is scheduled to appear in print on 25 September 1983.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that from January to June 1983 the Bydgoszcz branch of the Polish Economic Society conducted training seminars for management personnel in the broad sense of the term and for self-government activists in state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The seminars were attended by almost 1000 persons (independently of the current instructional activities conducted by the Economic Training Administration of the Polish Economic Society).

Two publications are entirely out of print: "A Primer of the Reform" and "Worker Self-Government in the Reformed Economic System," because of the great interest shown in them by enterprises throughout the country.

It is to be believed that the additional training seminars and the new publication will perform their functions arising from the demand on the part of society and the need for realization of the slogan advanced by economists as a group: the reform cannot fail to succeed.

#### Questions, Answers About Self-Government

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 4 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Zenon Mlynczyk: "Suspension and Dissolution"]

[Text] The 21 July law on specific legal regulations in the area of emergence from the social and economic crisis and on amendment of certain laws permits the possibility of suspending the activities of a work-force self-government organ over the transitional period if the activities of this organ violate lawful order or the fundamental interests of society.

Suspension of activities in such cases, but only in such cases, is decided by the founding organ. The suspension may be for a definite period, but for no longer than 6 months.

A decision for suspension made by a founding organ is not final. Self-government organs may appeal such suspensions to the Commission on Worker Self-Government Affairs under the Council of State. The high level at which the appeal authority is situated guarantees that a founding organ will be very circumspect in availing itself of the right to suspend and will do so only when absolutely necessary.

During the period of suspension of activities of a self-government organ, the powers of the organ will be exercised by the director of the enterprise.

The law states that in very extreme cases, when the circumstances require, a founding organ may recommend dissolution of a self-government organ. Such a possibility could be considered when suspension of the activities of a particular organ is not sufficient.

A decision to dissolve a self-government organ is made by the Commission on Worker Self-Government Affairs under the Council of State, on the basis of a recommendation by the founding organ. Even in these cases the decision of the Commission is not final. The self-government organ may appeal the decision to the same Commission.

In the light of this regulation it might be suggested that appeal would be pointless in this matter, inasmuch as the appeal would be considered by the same organ which decided on dissolution of the self-government organ. However, such a conclusion would be erroneous. The Commission in question is an organ made up of several persons. The persons who serve on it are determined by the Council of State, which also passes a resolution setting forth the principles, mode of operation, and decision-making procedure in such matters. Although such a resolution has not yet been adopted, it may be assumed that it will specify separate groups for making decisions in the direct process and in the appeal process. This follows from the general procedural principle that a person who takes part in making a decision which has been appealed cannot also participate in consideration of the appeal against the decision.

#### First Steps of Self-Government

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 5 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by (H.B.)]

[Text] Worker self-government was established in the District Meat Industry Enterprise in Kielce in September 1981. After the suspension of martial law it was found, however, that the self-government elections held at that time were not fully consonant with the principles of electoral law. The personnel were not fully represented in the self-government unit. In view of this situation, a new electoral campaign was instituted in February 1983. It continued for some time, since no local establishment was neglected. In each district delegates were elected in proportion to the number of workers. A worker council made up of 25 persons was formed on 15 April 1983.

These persons include local workers as well as personnel of the Kielce plant. Henryk Zatorski, an administrative worker with an economist's education, became the chairman. The first two sessions of the council were devoted primarily to ratification of the labor regulations, the statute of the enterprise, and the statute of the worker council.

"This is merely the beginning of our activities. We are learning how to be independent and self-governing," says Henryk Zatorski. "Joint administration of the plant requires thorough knowledge of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform. There have thus far been no conflicts with management. We have already received the first recommendations from employees aimed at improving management and efficiency. One of them concerns the hog farm belonging to the plant. The person making proposes that one of the sty buildings be adapted for raising sows. As a result, the plant would not have to buy pigs, with which there was difficulty this year and the cost of which was very high. We have submitted this recommendation to the management. It will be properly analyzed and will be implemented if it is found that adaptation of the building and hiring a skilled worker will be profitable. Another recommendation concerning verification of cadres in the administration will also be considered."

"Together with the self-government unit we will decide how to guide production and employment so as to fulfill the plans and achieve the greatest possible effects," says the director, Feliks Kwiatkowski. "This is our common goal. We are proceeding on the assumption that the raising of wages must be stimulated by an increase in labor productivity. And this is what is happening. Over the first 6 months we have made a profit twice as high as that stipulated by the plan. We have accomplished this as a result of introduction of a program of conservation and of increase in labor productivity. The majority of the employees received raises in July. They were not large, but our wages are not as low as they used to be. At the end of the year we will decide, also in conjunction with the self-government unit, how to distribute the profit, whether to allocate it for raising wages or for developing the plant and improving the social welfare conditions of the personnel."

6115

CSO: 2600/1235

## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT REPORTED

## New Stage of Development in Trade Unions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Biskup: "Trade Unions: A New Stage of Development"]

[Text] The trade unions active in enterprises located in Kielce Province have already taken their place in plant life. Gradually and systematically, but not without some resistance, the basic union structural organizations have been expanded and the cells for autonomous and independent organizations have been recreated. Social and union activists with a sense of commitment have been stubbornly forming their own worker unions. These are indeed workers' unions, too. The adjective "worker" is important and requires emphasis. The term "workers' union" is justified by the fact that about 80 percent of persons entering the new unions are workers employed in direct production. These are people working with machinery, from workshops and production divisions. Slowly but consistently, the internal resistance, lack of faith and unwillingness of people lost within the complicated social and economic situation within which we live are being overcome. Emotions are slowly dying down and the realistic assessment that there is no other way, that activity must replace indifference, is taking the place of demagogic slogans.

At the end of August, in 833 work establishments in which trade unions may operate, according to the Sejm law, the Provincial Court in Kielce registered 438 organizations, 22 more worker self-management bodies and independent, uncontrolled trade unions submitted to the courts the legally-required documents for registration. In 320 industrial plants initiative groups are active and where the workers have so wished, founding committees have already been chosen. The founding committees, after finishing preparation of charters and election procedures, will submit their basic registration documents to the court. The advanced state of union activity is illustrated by the fact that the Provincial Court has already registered 268 active trade unions. Three-hundred twenty union administrations have submitted recommendations for registration. It is worth recalling in this case that the union administration chosen by the workers joining the trade unions should announce itself to the Provincial Court registrar within two weeks of its constitution. It has actually been the case that there are union administrations operating without having had themselves registered.



At this time, over 111,000 persons have joined unions in Kielce Province. This is about 37 percent of the workforce. The fastest union growth has been in the construction industry: there are 40 trade unions operating in 60 construction enterprises. Of the 91 educational establishments in our province, unions have been registered in 62 of them. The situation is similar in the province's steel and machinery industries: out of 37 firms, unions are operating in 32. It should be added, however, that union development is proceeding most slowly in cultural and artistic communities.

The systematic development of the union movement, initiatives to create supra-plant structures and the problems facing the union activists in their everyday activity have brought about changes in the forms of work by the Kielce Provincial Peoples' Council's advisory teams on trade union cooperation. There has been a decidedly greater emphasis placed upon the training of unionists. In August, conferences were held in Kielce and Starachowice in which the representatives of 323 industrial plants from our province took part. What was discussed? What problems were handled? The first place was definitely taken by the problem of the Public Work Inspectorate, which has always been the agenda of the trade unions. It is thus obvious that the protection of work and its performance in a lighter and safer manner must be entrusted to the union organizations. The role of the public work inspectorates in firms and factories was unequivocally established by two basic documents: the Council of State's 6 July 1983 resolution on the activity of the SIP [Public Work Inspectorate] in work establishments and the first SIP elections and the Council of Ministers 24 June 1983 decree on the SIP. The new documents have given the inspectorates important and responsible powers as well as arguments and weapons in their struggle against bureaucratic ossification and administrative routine.

During recent meetings with unionists, there was special discussion of the content of the above-named documents. Every plant must prepare its own independent rules for electing its public work inspectorate. Then it must conduct those elections according to the criteria stated in the documents by the end of June of next year. The workers must choose people that will take interest every day in working conditions, send recommendations to the administration and execute their own plans and recommendations. In particular cases, the inspector may decide to halt production until the given shortcomings are dealt with. As is obvious, these are great powers but are also great responsibilities. It is therefore important that the positions of work inspector be filled by active persons commanding genuine respect and authority within their communities. They must be activists that will not give in to the obstacles they will find in their work. A public work inspector may be a worker who is not a unionist but the union organization decides just who will fill that important position.

Since the middle of September, intensive training for members of newly-chosen trade union administrations has been conducted in eight of the largest industrial centers and conglomerates of Kielce Province. This is the result of public needs and an initiative by the Provincial Peoples' Council advisory team on trade union cooperation. It has been foreseen that lectures conducted by the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge to the union aktiv will



provide them with their necessary legal knowledge. The program for the 21-hour course includes such things as bringing closer the contents of basic documents and legal documents, education in the range of activities and the principles of trade unions within their firms, discussion of laws, resolutions and agreements and a commentary on formal legal regulations.

From the time that the Provincial Court in Warsaw registered the first union federation, the union administrations have been working ever more actively to organize supraplant structures. Very soon there will be the provincial elections to the Polish Teachers' Union of Kielce District. Organizational work to create provincial structures within the other federations is very advanced. Aside from organizations for Kielce Province teachers and educators, there have also been formed provisional coordinating committees for the trade unions of workers in agriculture, construction and construction materials, metal and electrical machinery industries, health care, and for the workers in enterprises producing construction binding materials. It should also be mentioned that Kielce Province's trade unions have joined in creating supraplant structures for the Społem Food Industries Coop, civil transportation workers, workers in the Polish State Railways, dairy, forestry and wood products industry workers, light and textile industry workers and employees of the Samopomoc Chlopska.

The trade unions have thus emerged from their period of formation to a stage of activity within the industrial plants. They have recovered and are now systematically developing their ranks. People from the so-called silent majority have announced their desire to join the union organizations. The fact that there are workers in these organizations who are convinced of the need to unite their efforts and join together to protect the interests of the working class is, in my opinion, the best prognosis that the movement has a future. It is also an important precondition for all of those persons looking in from the sidelines and still waiting.

I think that it is worth quoting the words of Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, uttered at his meeting with the Gdansk Shipyard workers:

"The trade unions will become a mass movement in time. Those who have already joined them will have an influence on their form and character and whoever remains aloof of them will shut himself off from the formation of a new union movement."

These words are worth contemplating.

#### Polish Teachers' Union Active

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 13 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article my (mn): "We Will Be Strong Not by Words But by Solid Work: We Are the Unions"]

[Text] (Own information) Zbigniew Brozyniak--Chairman of the administration of the Prezemysl branch of the Polish Teachers' Union, chairman of the provincial founding committee of the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] and member of the ZNP national founding committee:

"Our union has about 2,500 members in Przemysl Province and about 650 in the city of Przemysl. So far, 36 chapters of the ZNP (out of 39 basic-level administrative units) have come into being. There also exist chapters (as in Pruchnik and Stubno) where 100 percent of the local teachers are members. We plan to hold a provincial conference next week at which the ZNP district leadership is to be elected.

"I feel that our union will become strong and important not through words but through the solid work of its representatives, and we will be strong in our action if there are more and more of us in the union ranks and involved in public work for our union. We educators, all of us, are the union. It cannot be otherwise.

"There are very many responsibilities and tasks facing us. The most important ones are constant supervision and care taken to see implemented the decisions and rules on education and teachers which have been made by local organs of the state administration, to help school administrations in solving social and existential problems of teachers, to provide extensive aid to retired teachers, provide proper medical care to teachers and youth, development of the provincial educational system according to the Provincial Peoples' Council program, the payment of charter subsidies, etc.

"As the new union, we took over all of the facilities of the former ZNP council in Przemysl on 15 May. This consisted of the House of Teachers on Szopen Street (hotel, club and employee buffet) and the vacation home in Slonny near Dubieck. While maintaining this property in good condition, we will also be trying to enlarge it. We also want to improve teachers' housing conditions. Soon, our Przemysl chapter, along with the Faculty of Education at UM [expansion unknown] in Przemysl intend to finalize a joint initiative to build a teachers' home. The provision of plots for individual residential construction has also been foreseen.

"We are also counting on prompt consideration of a proposal of ours concerning the establishment of a typical health clinic in Przemysl which is to provide permanent medical and prophylactic care to teachers employed in our city schools. We feel that every teacher should have a full medical examination at least once every 5 years.

"Discussion and deliberation over the Teacher's Charter has cost us much time and patience. Is this going to be introduced or not? Fully or partially? What is to become of teacher inductions, etc.? The Polish Teachers' Union has taken and still holds the position that the Teacher's Charter must be introduced in its entirety, in the form decided upon by the Sejm. It must be implemented just as it was adopted. We feel that no one has the right to demand any changes to this, even in part. This is the position that we are taking on this matter which has aroused so much emotion within the teaching community."

#### Ostrowiec Secretary Meets Activists

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (kd): "In Ostrowiec: Meeting With Union Activists"]

[Text] Yesterday in Ostrowiec there was a meeting of a group of nearly 100 unionists with the Secretariat of the PZPR City Committee, representatives of the city administration and the political leadership from the M. Nowotko Works. Also taking part in this meeting were Eugeniusz Chichon, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce and chairman of the PZPR Provincial Committee's desk on trade union affairs, Franciszek Wachowicz.

The first secretary of the city party organization, Waldemar Kowalski, presented the program of the city committee and its executive board for the coming months and the mayor of Ostrowiec, Wlodzimierz Milcarz, discussed the city's most important economic problems. During the discussions, union representatives brought up many problems and expressed their opinions and views on the social and economic situation in the nation and Ostrowiec and the relationship between the state and church. Party member attitudes were discussed along with the discipline being exerted in the PZPR ranks. Criticism was addressed at certain youth groups and their upbringing. There was also discussion of the importance of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the role of party members in this organization and the need to bring in young people to its activities. The unionists spoke at length about the continuing decrease of signs of social malaise.

The meeting's participants also discussed the action program presented by the PZPR City Committee, adding their own observations and recommendations. The director of the Regional Office for Internal Affairs, Lt Col Andrzej Zelazny, discussed public order and safety in Ostrowiec, pointing out that it has taken a turn for the better.

The Kielce PZPR Provincial Committee secretary, Eugeniusz Cichon, answered questions from several comrades and also discussed items such as the forms and methods of ideological training for the new party educational year.

#### New Trade Union Developments at Pulawy

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Iwona Przeor-Pastuszek: "People Must Believe In Us"]

[Text] The development of the new union movement is usually portrayed in optimistic terms. However, its development is not taking its course in a dynamic and problem-free way everywhere. We visited the Azoty Pulawy Nitrogen Works, where trade union foundation and operation has not been easy.

In November, a year will have passed since the 30-member initiative group was formed which undertook the establishment of new trade unions at Pulawy Nitrogen. The group members were also past members of Solidarity. However, as they say themselves, they belonged to the middle stream of that movement. They did not support either the political fervor of the union leadership or its total criticism of everything connected with socialism, the party and government policy.

They always understood the role of the trade unions and unionists to be active in the name of the best interests of the working class and of all working people in Poland. The "old" unions, including Solidarity, were a disappointment. They have thus seen in the new unions a chance to realize the goals that should always be those of trade unions--representing and defending worker interests. Thus, without fighting over chairs, without bureaucracy and unnecessary politics, the new unions are simply helping solve the everyday ordinary problems of working people.

At an electoral meeting in March 1983 for members (whose union then numbered 300), an 8-member directorate of the Pulawy Nitrogen Works Trade Union was chosen. The chairman elected was Kazimierz Jablonski, a long-term employee enjoying the recognition and trust of the workers there.

"In our organization's development so far, we can distinguish several stages," said the vice-chairman of the union directorate, Jerzy Kopanski. "Our first members were people whose inner need to act on behalf of the workers and to do social work brought them to our union. They had been active in previous organizations for the very same reasons. Their unfortunate experiences from previous organizations did not discourage them, on the contrary, they were spurred on to convince themselves and others that there must be a place for a union movement in Poland.

"There later came people needing a little time to overcome their distrust of the new union organization. At meetings with the workers, we try to popularize our ideals and we talk things over with workers who are often opposed to us. They don't believe that we will succeed in building a new and genuine workers' union. However, such meetings are often an impulse for such persons to come to us. They still are not totally convinced but they also don't want to stand on the sidelines. The need to participate in the union movement and in deciding on worker problems is a stronger force than distrust or indifference."

At the present time, the union has 687 members. In comparison with the 5,000-man work force at the Pulawy Nitrogen Works, that is a modest number. The causes of this continued low popularity of the new unions vary. On one hand, there is a lack of trust which is fed by continuing memories of Solidarity which was a very active organization at Azoty. In "those" unions, their opponents are often on the lookout for a return to the less-than-glorious pre-1980 union model. However, the animators of the present movement were "solidarists" too and they trusted....

Jerzy Kopanski says that people need time. They have to be convinced that the new unions are a chance for them, but only if they become involved in them.

Another reason for the slow development of the union is simply a lack of organizational skills of many members. It is necessary to be able to talk with people, and not everyone has this gift. The plant management and directors could be of help in this. Unfortunately, it has to be said that this particular situation is not the best.



The union law has very clearly established the principles of union activity and it has been outlined as well for plant directors. The unions act as a partner of the management and take part in making decisions about the workers and the plant itself. Nonetheless, the Pulawy unionists say that not all of the division directors and foremen respect this principle.

In August, the union directorate presented the plant management a letter containing proposals for the conclusion of an agreement to settle affairs connected with union activity. This included a whole set of problems in which the union should have an important voice: social and housing problems, setting wages, the conferring of awards and rewards, plant production and a series of other matters. The unionists hope that this will enable them to work out a common area of action. They want to be treated as partners.

For the time being, the unionists are acting within the limits of their own resources. Thus, they already have to their account a successful summer campaign of vacations for the employees and their families. A total of 1200 children of Azoty enjoyed colonies and camps organized by the union. By using vacations homes, trips were financed for 1000 zlotys per person. The funds at the union's disposal amount to 2,800,000 zlotys "inherited" from the previous unions and from Solidarity and obtained from members' dues (which are 1 percent of wages and 1 percent regulation pay). At the present time, there is a fight being conducted to construct 120 housing units for the employees and a score of more employee garages. Furthermore, campaigns are being organized to provide the workers with a winter's supply of fruits and vegetables.

Jerzy Kopanski says that people often come to the union directorate and its division groups just to "talk." They talk about their own problems and signal the workers' problems. It seems therefore that there is beginning to be some faith in the new movement even though it is growing slowly and not without difficulty.

The union seems to be a denial of the previously active union organizations in Poland. There is no bureaucratic machinery--the directorate has only two permanent offices: the chairman and secretary. The remaining personnel are persons who want to and are acting for the good of the workers. The majority of unionists are non-party workers (only 15 percent of union membership is comprised of PZPR members). Furthermore, it is worth adding here that cooperation with the PZPR Plant Committee has been very successful. Both have a good relationship to the plant management.

12261

CSO: 2600/32



## PROVINCIAL INDEPENDENT SELF-GOVERNING ACTIONS NOTED

## Development of Independent Units Mentioned

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by K. Kasparzak: "Account of Independence"]

[Text] Socialized enterprises belonging to the Lublin WZPPO [Provincial Association of State Horticultural Enterprises] have already drawn up the balance sheets for the second year of independence. A new attempt at the reform has encouraged still better management and thrift by workforces of individual units as compared to last year. What is the result? An increase in profits by about 130 percent compared to the economic year 1981/1982.

After the first year of independence, profits were put down to various measures, e.g., the stocks of the means of production purchased before price hikes, the sale of machinery and equipment that the enterprises often did not need, and so on. According to these views, only the second year would test the "endurance" of these units. It turned out that the reform had been an undeniable great influence in improving management in these enterprises, despite all the difficulties that the enterprises had to cope with, along with the entire agriculture and industrial plants and despite many belated systemic modifications and extemporaneous financial decisions. The fact that all the enterprises operated in the black for the first time is the best testimony.

The Lublin WZPPO (formerly the Leonow Horticultural Combine) at present consists of 10 independent units. These are horticultural farms in Jozefow, Leczna, Mazanow, Niemce, Niezabitow, Przytoczno and Wrzosow, the PPR [State Agricultural Enterprises] in Kaniwola and Motycz and the PPH [State Trading Enterprise] State Farm [PRG] in Lublin. To be sure, they operate and produce in different conditions and have differing equipment. Nonetheless, it may be worthwhile to quote several statistics which are the best testimony to their economic performance.

The total gross product amounted to almost 917 million zlotys in the economic year 1982-1983. Compared to the previous reporting period, it was more than 30 percent higher. The largest gross product was achieved by the Leczna PPO; its value amounted to almost 208 million zlotys. Subsequent slots on the list went to Przytoczno--205 million zlotys, Niemce--113 million zlotys, Kaniwola--87 million zlotys, Mazanow--80 million zlotys. At the end of the list landed Wrzosow--51 million zlotys, PPH PGR--23 million zlotys and Niezabitow--16 million zlotys.

A majority of enterprises also turned in a high profit. The total came up to almost 232 million zlotys. The largest net income was obtained by the units in Leczna--72 million zlotys, Przytoczno--55 million zlotys, Niemce--35 million zlotys, Mazanow--29 million zlotys and Jozefow--26 million zlotys. The lower slots were taken by Niezabitow--2 million zlotys, the PPH PGR--1.7 million zlotys and Kaniwola--1.2 million zlotys.

Shifts in production and especially a bumper crop of fruit were the most significant factors behind these favorable results. This year, 12,690 tons of fruit were sold, or almost 100 percent more than last year. About 30 percent of apples were shipped to the Soviet Union at very favorable prices. Purchasers from the Soviet Union paid more than 35 zlotys per kilogram on the average, whereas, the average for the country was about 20 zlotys. Certainly, the high quality of apples influenced so favorable a price. The crop of apples also caused large production of alcohol in three enterprises.

The work forces of particular enterprises also increasingly influence the economic results. Now they not only make decisions with regard to the choice of production profiles, but also search for the most intensive ways of marketing. The role of basic party cells, workers' self-government and trade union organizations in managing these units is also significant. Attention is drawn to the shortcomings in enterprise management and the reasons for them. At the same time, appropriate corrective measures are suggested.

Two enterprises operating under the most difficult conditions, Motycz and Kaniwola, merited words of appreciation in the last economic year. The former recorded a loss of more than 9.3 million zlotys as recently as 2 years ago, whereas last year it turned in a profit of about 6 million zlotys. It should be noted that this is a very scattered enterprise; it has units in 6 localities: Babine, Belzyce, Kraczwice, Malinowszczyzna, Opole Lubelskie and, obviously, in Motycz.

The PPR in Motycz engages mainly in arable farming and animal husbandry. On 390 hectares of land of varying quality, 5,620 quintals of grain were harvested (all enterprises combined harvested 19,630 quintals of grain). The average yield of the four basic grains came up to 33.2 quintals in the Motycz PPR (the combined average was 25.6 quintals). The bulk of the grain from Motycz made it to the Seed Center as qualified material. Besides, this enterprise sold 1,156 quintals of cattle for slaughter, including 806 quintals of hog.

The enterprise in Kaniwola was formed on the basis of the Association of Agricultural Circles, liquidated in the same locality. From the very beginning, it has been coping with many difficulties. Now it has 1,014 hectares of land in three gminas, mainly of categories V and VI in order to carry out the survey of all tracts at one time, one has to travel as far as 130 kilometers.

Animal husbandry is the basic kind of production in that enterprise. Last economic year, 2,627 quintals of cattle for slaughter were delivered to procurement centers (in the entire association--7,100 quintals), out of which

90 percent were hogs. Within the framework of arable farming, 4,710 quintals of grain were stockpiled. Out of that, 2,270 tons of cattle fodder were made at the enterprise's own mixer plant which were supplied not only for its own consumption but also for other enterprises belonging to the WZPPO. It should be mentioned that the farm in Kaniwola has no housing facilities. In its turn, cattle and hog breeding is done in structures not fully suited for all-season use. The above two enterprises can boast their own repair and construction groups which do remodeling of individual structures by their own means and erect small buildings.

Much attention has been paid to the improvement of social and housing conditions with an eye to ensuring the stability of the workforce. Seventeen residential buildings for 204 families are under construction. They are built in Kaniwola, Wrzosow, Mazanow, Kraczevice (Motycz PPR), Niemce, Przytoczno and Lysolaje (Leczna PPR). Very soon, the construction of two housing projects for 24 families will begin in Niezabitow. Remodeling of farm buildings is also done on a large scale. Work of this type is underway in Belzyce (Motycz PPR), Kaniwola, Niemce and Wrzosow. Buildings in the two last localities are modified for sheep breeding. Modernization of umbrella roofs for fruit storage is underway in Wrzosow (so far, no storage facilities are available there) and Jozefow. Besides, the PPO workforce in Niemce recently got a canteen. A similar building was also overhauled in Przytoczno.

On the other hand, issues of occupational safety and hygiene still leave a lot to be desired. To be sure, the supply of work clothing has improved. However, working conditions in certain jobs cause much concern. Sometimes cases occur where these conditions fall short of the basic requirements in the field. This can be excused in financially weak enterprises, but it does not stand to reason where affluent enterprises are involved.

In summation, it can be stated that almost all units belonging to the Lublin WZPPO in the course of last economic year used the available means and opportunities to carry out their tasks to the fullest extent possible. Employing the principles of economic analysis and with a view of self-financing, they did not abandon even unprofitable but badly needed production, such as, for example, animal husbandry. However, there are still many reserves in each enterprise, which is demonstrated by the savings and anti-inflationary programs. Especially, the PGR State Trading Enterprise has a way to go; its operation often gives rise to much controversy.

#### Workers' Self-Government Organizations Make Progress

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Krzysztof Sobczak: "Will Self-Government Govern?"]

[Text] As is known, the Sejm of the PRL adopted a law on the system of people's councils and territorial self government. This is a legal act of a particular character, introducing essential changes into the entire Polish political system. We approached Professor Zygmunt Rybicki, the under-secretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers, with the question: What does the new law change in the functioning of the organs of state administration?

The state administration, stated the professor, discharges very important and varied responsibilities in organizing the practical realization of public tasks serving the common good. The law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government regulates exactly these issues, as it is a law of fundamental political significance. Naturally, due to the complexity of tasks, it cannot address concrete solutions. Nonetheless, it provides a legal foundation and, simultaneously, a guide of sorts to the entire body of legislation pertaining to the operation of state administration. To show this, let us consider a situation where, for example, the construction law outlines technical requirements for the erection of buildings. In its turn, the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government defines the organs which should take care of and be responsible for the matters relating to construction. The same applies to water management, environmental protection, health service, institutions propagating culture, issues related to the acts of civic status and so on. It is necessary to reach into the legal system in its entirety in order to sketch fully the scope of tasks of the territorial organs of state administration.

The new law stipulates that the territorial administration discharges three primary functions: firstly, those of the territorial organs of state administration; secondly, those of the executive management organs of the people's councils, and thirdly, those of the organs of territorial self-government. Let us add that these functions are intertwined and in their political aspect constitute a unified entity.

Discharging the first function, for example, consists of issuing construction permits, overseeing obligatory schooling, registering associations, etc. In their capacity as the executive-management organs of people's councils, territorial administration must, in its turn, ensure the fulfillment of the decisions of people's councils with regard to health care, communal and housing construction, agriculture, environmental protection, and so on. Within the constraints of available budget, "local policy" coupling the interests of the represented territory with tasks in the scope of entire society is implemented in accordance with the decisions of people's councils. The third function has been treated in the law in a similar way. Administration is obligated to render assistance to the endeavors of territorial self-government which should better meet the needs of population by resorting to social efforts. Administration must see to it that these efforts produce social effects and adhere to the guidelines of people's councils.

Certainly, it is possible to accept a solution whereby particular functions are discharged by different organs. This was the case in the history of Polish administration some time ago. This, however, was associated with the oversight of the self-government organs by the so-called government administration organs and in essence brought about the weakening of territorial representative organs. This provided the basis for a somewhat systemic domination of the executive over the representative branch. The present law proceeds from a totally different stipulation; it creates conditions for integrating the tasks, for the realization of law-making and oversight functions of the people's councils in all the actions of the state administration.



In my opinion, the realistic character of adopted solutions is an important trait of the reform. For example, both the people's councils and the superior executive organs have a say in nominating the territorial organs of state administration, that is, governors, mayors and administrators. The opportunities for carrying out responsibilities are based on the people's councils' own revenues, which is a significant novelty. The principles of creating "local laws" and shaping the territorial division were also outlined. The law details precisely the tasks of the organs at different levels. It stresses the increase in their powers, but also their increased responsibilities. Responsibility in the field of socio-economic and spatial planning is defined unambiguously. In the arrangement in effect so far the administrator was mainly a "transmitter" of social needs to the central coffers. In the new situation, he will be obligated to organize activities in his gmina or city in such a way as to take in the largest possible revenue and further to use it in the most rational way. Naturally, this must take place under the supervision of the people's council.

As follows from the above, the situation of administration is complicated. The new law defines its tasks and position more unambiguously than the one currently in effect. The new law will fulfill its tasks only if its provisions are realized together with an entire package of other legislative acts. Specific regulations must be adjusted to the new law. At present, the situation in particular fields varies. For example, as far as planning is concerned, we are referring to the already adopted new law on planning. With regard to finances, the law has resolved certain issues, while others will be treated in new regulations now being prepared. The law will take effect approximately 1 year after its adoption. This time is needed to prepare its implementation, also from the legislative point of view.

A general question may be asked: what is the direction of changes in power in light of the introduction of the new law? Is the authority of the representative or the executive organs, of the center or the territorial units strengthened? In trying to come up with an answer, two factors should be emphasized: an efficient, properly functioning state apparatus and... the division of tasks within the framework of this apparatus. For example, the actual authority of a people's council cannot be increased without strengthening the governor or the administrator. When the council sets certain tasks, someone must carry them out well. Treating this arrangement in terms of competition is a result of bad practice and the lack of a vision of the future. The division of tasks and responsibilities must be such as to permit the optimal solution of social tasks. Centralization does not at all amount to efficiency. At the same time, efficiency can be increased by a downward shift in responsibilities.

In summation, I think that the new law is a step in the direction of precisely that state of affairs. Naturally, the law itself will not take care of everything. Nonetheless, it provides a foundation for competent activity to the benefit of society. It provides an opportunity which can and should be taken advantage of.



## SURVEY EXAMINES CITIZENS' POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1704, 28 Aug 83  
pp 15-17

[Article by Steven Niksic]

[Text] "Citizens' interest in public, social affairs is visibly declining"; "Ever fewer people are ready to directly engage themselves and accept function in the delegate system"; "The more they know the delegate system, the less they understand it"; "More than one-half of the workers say that they do not have any, or very little influence on the decisionmaking in the OUR..."

These are only some of the statements, obviously rather serious, that we have mentioned in the course of the last few months while reporting the results of various surveys. The most characteristic among them may have been the findings of the survey "Assembly Elections 1982" (see "Tajne izbornih kutija," NIN No 1688) which have shown that large numbers of citizens are not acquainted with the political system and especially the exceptionally complicated and complex election process. This is, obviously, a good reason for the lack of interest and apathy. Citizens do not want to be active in the political life if they do not have clear ideas about the sense and effects of their activity, the researchers have pointed out. In relation to this, Dr Vladimir Goati from the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade expressed the opinion that we still cannot speak about the depolitization of the Yugoslavs, but only of their more critical attitude toward some political mechanisms in the society. Critical attitude is an indicator of the care for public affairs and the desire to participate in an appropriate way in the political life.

Similar appraisal of the citizens' more critical attitude toward the system, and especially toward the electoral process, was reached by the authors of such a survey in Slovenia. The findings of the large research project, under the title "Functioning and Implementation of the Delegate System," which is being simultaneously realized in all the republics and provinces since 1975, almost in their entirety confirm the appraisals of the objections to the delegate system and the increased "citizens' reservedness" which has been increasing in the last few years. Briefly, several surveys have shown that people think that the system is complicated, and that it is difficult for them to express their interest in such a system. They tend to criticize it ever more clearly and they seem to be less and less willing to directly participate in it.

This prompted us to ask our research center, whose surveys we traditionally publish in NIN, to verify such statements. In the first place, can one speak (and to what degree) of signs of the citizens depolitization at present? The attention of our researchers was concentrated on the local commune. The encounter between the citizens and the system begins here. Therefore we analyzed the way citizens judge the efficiency of the delegate system in the solving of the problems that are most pressing to them, and the way they look at their own place and role in the local commune.

"What is being done to solve the citizens problems in the local commune?" was the first question in our survey. From our earlier experience, on the basis of other similar research, we knew that most citizens, whether in village or urban local communes, usually give priority to communal and similar problems (roads, water, sewers, city transport...) and regards them as the first obligation of their local commune. The answers we got did not surprise us: they were very critical, although there were some differences between our two samples--answers from the Belgrade local commune were incomparably more critical than those that arrived from other parts of the country. Almost one-half (44 percent) of surveyed Belgraders said that "nothing was being done." And one-fourth (26 percent) said: "A lot of talking, but little effect." Only a negligible number of the people surveyed think that something is being really solved and that citizens are engaged in the solving.

Judging by the answers given by the citizens of Belgrade, one could even say that some of them are a little angry. "The performance of inspections is insufficient. We cannot get rid of middlemen or of the price explosion. Cafes are suggested to us, but the system of inspections is not as it should be," said a JNA officer (55). His remark probably explains at least a part of the reasons for the increased discontent.

A telephone survey, in which the social and educational structure of the surveyed people was somewhat different from the one in Belgrade (and closer to the actual situation in the entire country) also gave an unfavorable picture. Almost one-half of the surveyed said that they did not know the problems of their local commune well and that they did not know what was being done to solve the problems (45 percent). More than one-fourth thought that nothing was being done or that there was a lot of talk but few effects. Only every fifth person gave a clear answer that could be considered satisfactory from the standpoint of the goals posed by the system: that something was being done, and that citizens participated in it.

The next group of questions had as its goal to clarify who is in charge of what, in the citizens' opinion, and who has the greatest power and influence in the matter of solving problems that are most pressing to the citizens in local communes. "To whom would you turn if you noticed a problem?" we asked. In both cases, in both of our surveys, only a smaller number of citizens said that they did not know who to turn to, or that they would not turn to anybody. The majority thought that somebody should solve their problems and that it was the local commune. Others thought that this somebody was the assembly of the commune, house council, SIZ, sociopolitical organizations...In fact, the order given by the surveyed citizens of Belgrade is different from the order

given by the participants from other places. People of Belgrade would first turn to the local commune, then to the house council, and only in the third place to the communal assembly. Then they would go to the SIZ, call sociopolitical organizations for help, and in the last place the administrative organs. Other Yugoslavs would first turn to the local commune for help, then to the communal assembly, house council, and sociopolitical organizations. All of them, without exception, put the administrative organs in the last place.

When asked to "think of something that is decided upon in the local commune" and to say "who had the greatest influence in that," citizens showed very poor memory. Most of them had no idea what was being decided upon in their immediate vicinity. In the MZ Mihajlovac, almost two-thirds answered like this, and among the surveyed telephone subscribers in the SFRY more than one-half. Those who remembered said that citizens had considerable influence, but immediately added that considerable influence was also exerted by factors outside the local commune and by the officials and offices of the local commune itself. If we made a division with citizens on the one side and all the others (officials and offices) together with other "outside" factors on the other, the ratio between them would be 1:1.

"How great was your influence?" was the next question. Answers to this question seemed especially characteristic to us. Nearly one-half of the citizens thought that they had no influence or only a minimal influence in the decisionmaking in the local commune. The survey made in the Belgrade local commune Mihajlovac and the one made by telephone gave us an almost identical picture in this regard. A large number of citizens (49 percent in the telephone survey and 32 percent in the MZ Mihajlovac) answered "I do not know" to this question. Only a negligible number of citizens said that they had some influence on the decisionmaking in the local commune.

Many picturesque remarks were recorded here, too. Stane Babic, a chauffeur from Ljubljana, said "I am small fry." "People at the top have the greatest influence. My influence was zero because I was passive" (worker, 56, Maribor). "People ask a lot and are always ungrateful" (housewife, 60, Belgrade). "Influence depends on the entire work and activity. If one comes to the local commune meetings once in 4 months and does not know what is being done, one cannot exert influence" (student, 20, Crvenka).

"If somebody proposed it to you, would you accept a function in the local commune?" we asked. As you can see from the answers in our table, various manpower commissions should not have many problems registering candidates for political functions. People would, in general, gladly accept such functions. Some of them may, it is true, offer a little resistance in the beginning, but would eventually accept. The answers in the two columns, one containing attitudes of the citizens of MZ Mihajlovac, and the other containing telephone answers gathered all over the country, are somewhat different. But this difference does not seem essential. It should probably be attributed to the different social and professional structure of the members of the two groups. The group in which workers prevailed (telephone survey) contained, obviously, a larger number of those who said that they would gladly accept the function

offered to them. It would therefore be interesting to analyze more precisely the statements about the willingness to accept public and social functions in relation to the social structure (class status, education, profession, age, sex,...). Our sample unfortunately was not adequate for such an analysis.

Anyway, answers to the previous as well as to the next, concrete question-- "How much have you been interested lately in social events?"--dispel any thought of the citizens' depolitization at this moment. (See the answers to the Table). It seems that our survey in this regard has only confirmed initial suppositions: citizens are very critical precisely because they are very interested. Even when they gave clearly acrid answers, they did so because they are obviously not indifferent to social development. Anyway, here are some of the answers and you judge yourselves: "It makes no sense to fight for something that cannot be improved" (student, 25, Belgrade); "What can be seen is very sad and does not lead anywhere" (employee, 36, Split); "I am disappointed. Maybe I misunderstood Marx. People have become alienated from me. I have nothing to do with the MZ. I am not interested in anything" (retiree, 70, Belgrade).

However, the lathe operator Zvonko Rumbak (40) from Samobor thinks that the basic problem consists in the fact that young people are too passive and that the situation would be different if a greater number of young people were engaged in the political life. Mirjana Benisek from MZ Mihajlovac, programmer, (30) has a similar opinion but feels that the opinion of the young people is not sufficiently appreciated in the local commune and that only retired people are active.

The last series of our questions: "Do you regularly read some daily or weekly papers?" "Have you given up some papers?" and "Do you follow the domestic political themes in the media?" seems to confirm the previous conclusions about the people's undiminished interest in public and social affairs.

The data about newspaper readings are also convincing: 90 percent of the surveyed SFRY citizens and 96 percent of the surveyed members of the MZ Mihajlovac regularly read at least one daily paper, and the majority reads at least one additional weekly paper! The majority does not lightly renounce its regular portion of information, although it must not be ignored that papers lately bring fewer and fewer good news and that they have moreover become more expensive. The majority, a convincing majority, says that they expect from the newspapers to learn what is happening in Yugoslavia and that they regularly read precisely this kind of information ("internal", domestic policy).

In other words, our survey confirms that "non-active citizens" cannot be blamed for the present weaknesses of the delegate system. Citizens are very interested and motivated to participate in the management of social affairs. The reasons why the system is not functioning in practice as it is supposed to and why citizens often feel alienated from the system must be sought elsewhere. For, it must be kept in mind that the self-management socialization of politics, and we are speaking here about such a phenomenon, is another word for the historical process of the withering away of the state. However,



it is interesting that Yugoslav political scientists more and more often point to the danger of a renewal of etatism in its new, decentralized forms.

[The following has been written by Ljuba Stojic]

#### Tabulated Answers

Remember something that was recently a subject of decisionmaking in your commune...Who had the greatest influence?

	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>MZ</u>
Authorities outside the MZ	8%	12%
MZ officials	11	6
MZ offices	7	2
Citizens	26	16
Do not know	51	64

How great was your influence?

None	17	24
Minimal, the same as that of other citizens	24	22
Some influence (functions, activity)	10	2
Do not know	49	32

When did you last attend a citizens meeting in the local commune?

Never	25	30
I was impeded	8	2
Long ago	12	14
During last year	55	54

Would you accept a function in the local commune, if somebody proposed you?

Yes, I would like to	46	36
No, I would not like it	6	0
I would resist, but eventually accept	18	18
No, by no means	28	46

How much have you lately been interested in social developments?

More than ever	21	14
I have always been interested	29	46
I am considerably interested	17	14
Fairly	18	12
Little	11	8
I am not interested at all	4	6



Do you read articles on domestic policy in the press,  
do you watch programs on domestic policy on TV?

More than ever	7	10
Regularly	62	68
Sometimes, when something happens	15	16
Very rarely, hardly ever	11	6

#### Composition of the Surveyed

This time also our reserach consisted of two parts: telephone survey comprising 100 citizens from various parts of Yugoslavia, and the survey made in a local community. It was the local community Mihajlovac in the Belgrade county of Cukarica, on Banovo brdo. Two-thirds of those with whom we talked over the telephone were men. Only one-tenth were less than 25 years old, one-third between 25 and 45 years old, and a little more than half (54 percent) still older. The age pattern was even more interesting in the local community: only 4 percent were less than 25, and 64 percent older than 45. The number of middle aged people in both cases was the same: one-third. The number of men with whom we talked in the local commune was only insignificantly higher in relation to the number of women (52 percent).

The basic occupation structure was identical in both cases: 66 percent active (employed) and 34 percent inactive persons (retirees, students). However, within this rather rough division there were some differences. In the telephone sample the greatest subgroup among the employed persons were workers (31 percent); 20 percent were professionals and 15 percent employees, while in the local commune the largest group were professionals (30 percent, while there were 22 percent employes and 14 percent workers). In other words, the section of Belgrade where the survey was made is obviously not a workers' area.

Almost one-third (29 percent) of the telephone sample were members of the SKJ, while in the local community (composed mostly of professionals and employees) they represented almost one-half (46 percent). It is also interesting that most people with whom we talked were ready to help us and to abandon anonimity, by letting us use their names with their answers.

The big job of surveying was made by the team of the NIN Research Center, Mirjana Alimpic, Svetlana Virijevic, Elida Faganel, Katarina Hajn, Nada Puseljic and Biljana Isailovic. Milica Krstanovic controlled the choice of samples, and Slobodan Tamindzic has statistically processed the data.

12455

CSO: 2800/17

GRLICKOV ADVOCATES IDEA OF 'OPEN MARXISM'

AU241733 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 24 Oct 83

[Report on speech by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov at the opening session of the "Roundtable-83" theoretical discussion forum in Cavtat on 24 October--embargoed until further notice]

[Excerpts] Cavtat, 24 Oct (TANJUG)--The participants of the "Roundtable-83" theoretical discussion forum, the world's unique discussion forum which has brought together the Marxist and other socialist theoreticians of various orientations and tendencies in Cavtat already for the 8th consecutive year, were greeted at the beginning of their dialogue today by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, president of the council of the forum.

"This year, we have gathered here," Grlickov said, "to discuss the topic of 'Marx and the Contemporary Period.'"

"It is our task," Grlickov pointed out, "to penetrate as deeply as possible into the anatomy of the contemporary world, its aggregate material, social, and subjective potentials and its contradictions and conditions, to uncover through the deepest possible Marxist analysis the possible and probable potentials of socialism which is already confirming itself in practice as a world historical process, and to examine also the situation in Marxism itself as well as its contradictions and dilemmas."

It seems, Grlickov continued, that, thanks to the technological revolution, capitalism could continue its life. However, it has become evident that the unprecedented growth of the material production forces has intensified the old and opened new contradictions in the capitalist system.

Capitalism is still capable of material reproduction, Grlickov said, but it is less and less able to reproduce the social relations on the basis of which it has grown. It goes without saying that the current social crisis of capitalism cannot be identified as its immediate disappearance from the world's political scene. The history of the workers' movement warns us that, in such circumstances, it is necessary to refrain from a hasty and well known "writing-off" or "burial" of the existing class system, that is, from proclaiming the current crisis as the "final" or last one. My impression is that the time

has not yet come for "counting the last days." Because of this, Grlickov believes, it is necessary, simultaneously with the critique of the bourgeois society, to also develop and deepen the critique of the development of early socialism, a critique at the level of critical Marxist awareness.

The historical moment inexorably demands the answers which will be in accord with the goals and ideals of socialism and communism, Grlickov emphasized. Therefore, strategic solutions are not sought only for the economic crisis and for the ways to overcome this crisis, but also for all the fundamental socioeconomic, political, ideological, moral, and other questions which trouble the contemporary development of socialism.

Socialism can confirm itself as the true radical historical alternative only to the extent that it constantly continues to widen the civilization framework and the horizons of democracy and freedom. Bearing in mind the concrete historical situations and the experiences of the recent history of socialism, Grlickov pointed out, we face the unavoidable question of how the situation can be avoided in which the leading and ruling political party in the countries which have gradually moved along the road of socialism, irresistibly loses the qualities of a revolutionary movement, something that is happening within the context of its combination with the authority apparatus, a process within which the party increasingly assumes the qualities of a party of order.

Many Marxist theoreticians argue and claim, Grlickov continued, that Marxism has even fallen into a crisis and that it is less and less able to provide answers to the questions imposed by the contemporary world and the development of the process of socialism in it.

In the process of being adopted by people, Marxism became, as we say, the property of people, that is, it became an ideology, Grlickov noted. Having turned into an ideology, Marxism necessarily changed its original aggregate states. The ideologization of Marxism does not aspire as much to advancing a false picture of reality as it shows itself in the confirmation and even apotheosis of a reality. The ideological erosion handicaps it twofold. In the sphere of knowledge, it loses its resistance and becomes rigid toward new achievements and contemporary findings of science and, in the social field, it remains closed to new social energies of the social groups whom the founders of scientific socialism did not foresee as possible subjective factors of revolutionary social changes. This is particularly noticed in the societies of early socialisms in which the overemphasized state suppressed the socialist movement within the functioning of the system. It is from these tendencies that such crises of Marxism developed in the history of socialism which jeopardized its concrete historical continuity and thereby also the very idea of socialism. Of course, what is involved here is the Stalinist erosion of socialism, a process in which the institution of the state with all of its mainly repressive attributes was made into the foundation and the framework of socialism.

The new experiences, Grlickov continued, have expanded the subject under research and, at the same time, have also changed the ideological-theoretical angle from which the society is observed. Intellectual engagement was primarily directed at elaborating Marxism and at freeing it from "official"

interpretations. The thinking forces of Marxism, each for itself, searched for their own identity and they have incorporated the attributes of their own specific situation, tradition, and culture into the results of their research. All this has led to a pluralization of Marxism. The original unified core will be dispersed to civilization circles and they will appear as attributes which determine its specific nature. In this sense, for instance, there will be a difference between "Eastern," "Western," and Marxism "of the Third World."

Instead of a precipitate dilemma "one or more Marxisms," we are inclined toward an open Marxism which will be capable of explaining the world and historic developments and the development of the historic process of socialism in these developments. However, instead of an ideological pluralism, Marxism will then be based on an informed pluralism which will consider the new scientific experiences and their arguments, and which will express and make possible a parallel existence of different currents in Marxism itself.

The controversies of the modern world have again set before Marxist thinkers the task of providing an answer to the question to what extent is contemporary Marxism productive and capable of discovering and illuminating the legitimate tendencies of the epoch in which we live.

If the world in which we live is really understood, socialist thought must muster courage to play a relative and independent role, to contribute through a theoretical dialogue between different schools and currents of socialist thought, by removing the ideological obstacles and mutual exclusiveness; to contribute to the development of the knowledge of opportunities of socialism, of the roads of developing its contradictions; to contribute to overcoming limited orientations, different movements for socialism, and to theoretically clear the road for rehabilitation and their actual solidarity in a practical political action.

CSO: 2800/52

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

7 Nov. 1983